

CIST AND CIL

A SYNTACTICAL STUDY

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY


BY

CHARLES EUGLEY MATHEWS

BALTIMORE

J. H. FURST COMPANY

1907



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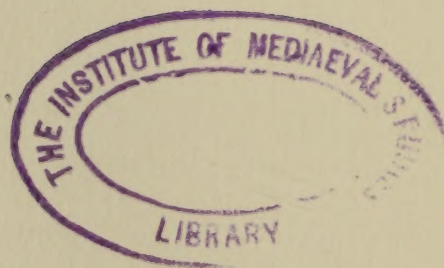
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TO
A. C. S.

AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION
THIS DISSERTATION
IS DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

Among the first questions of interest which presented themselves to my mind after I began the study of Romance Philology was that of the demonstratives in Old French. My interest in this subject was quickened by certain observations and suggestions made by Associate Professor Edward C. Armstrong of the Department of Romance Languages in the Johns Hopkins University. I therefore decided to attempt an investigation, which should deal especially with the syntax of *cist* and *cil* during the period extending from the time of the earliest Old French monuments down to about the year 1500.

The demonstratives in Old French have already been treated by the grammarians who have studied the language from an historical point of view, and also in special works by E. Gessner,¹ A. Giesecke,² and Karl Ganzlin.³ Ganzlin studies exclusively the phonology and morphology of the demonstratives; Gessner and Giesecke present valuable observations on both the formal and the syntactical side of the question. It is hoped that the present work may add some results to those already obtained in this subject by previous writers.

The material for the following monograph was collected during the years 1903 and 1904 from a group of Old French texts, a list of which is found on pages ix and x. Of these texts, which belong to the period between the time of the earliest Old French monuments and *circa* 1500, about two-

¹ *Zur Lehre vom französischen Pronomen*, von Dr. E. Gessner, Programme d'invitation a l'examen public du collège royal français fixé au 26 septembre 1873, Berlin.

² *Die Demonstrativa im Altfranzösischen mit Einschluss des XVI Jahrhunderts*, von A. Giesecke, Rostock, 1880.

³ *Die Pronomina demonstrativa im Altfranzösischen*, von Karl Ganzlin, Greifswald, 1888.

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thirds, some twenty odd, are in verse, the other third in prose. In selecting them an attempt was made to choose for each period works that represent the more important Old French dialects.

CHARLES EUGLEY MATHEWS.

PRINCETON, *May*, 1907.

NOTE.—Just as this dissertation was about to be submitted to the proper authorities of the Johns Hopkins University, the publication by Erich Lemme, *Die Syntax des Demonstrativ-pronomens im Altfranzösischen*, Rostock, 1906, was brought to my attention. I completed my monograph independently of Lemme, and submitted it before I had seen his work. The present work is published, notwithstanding the appearance of Lemme's dissertation, because it differs from the latter in plan, execution, and results.

CONTENTS.

| | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| PREFACE..... | v |
| CONTENTS | vii |
| LIST OF TEXTS..... | ix |
| INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| CHAPTER I.—DEMONSTRATIVE FORCE OF <i>Cist</i> | 3-25 |
| 1. <i>Cist</i> = Temporal Nearness..... | 3-7 |
| 2. <i>Cist</i> = Local Nearness..... | 7-12 |
| <i>a.</i> <i>Cist</i> used because Speaker assumes Attitude of Spec- | |
| tator | 13-16 |
| <i>b.</i> <i>Cist</i> = Nearness in Interest..... | 16-20 |
| 3. <i>Cist</i> . . . <i>Cist</i> Indefinite..... | 20-21 |
| 4. Weakening of Demonstrative Force of <i>Cist</i> and Introduc- | |
| tion of Strengthening <i>-ci</i> , <i>là</i> | 21-25 |
| CHAPTER II.—DEMONSTRATIVE FORCE OF <i>Cil</i> | 26-63 |
| 1. <i>Cil</i> = Temporal Remoteness..... | 26-33 |
| 2. <i>Cil</i> = Local Remoteness..... | 33-38 |
| <i>a.</i> <i>Cil</i> used with Historical Present because Speaker main- | |
| tains Attitude of Narrator..... | 38-40 |
| <i>a.</i> <i>Cil</i> used because the Idea of Local Remoteness prevails | |
| over that of Nearness of Interest..... | 40-42 |
| <i>c.</i> <i>Cil</i> = "the other" | 42-45 |
| 3. <i>Cil</i> . . . <i>Cil</i> Indefinite | 46 |
| 4. <i>Cil</i> . . . <i>Cele</i> in Expressions of Totality..... | 47 |
| 5. <i>Cil</i> weakened to Personal Pronoun..... | 47-54 |
| 6. Weakening of Demonstrative Force of <i>Cil</i> and Introduc- | |
| tion of Strengthening <i>-ci</i> , <i>là</i> | 54-58 |
| 7. <i>Cist</i> and <i>Cil</i> in Juxtaposition..... | 58-63 |
| CHAPTER III. DETERMINATIVE FORCE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRO- | |
| NOUNS IN LATIN AND IN MODERN FRENCH..... | 64-72 |
| CHAPTER IV.—DETERMINATIVE FORCE OF <i>Cist</i> | 73-79 |
| A. The Pronoun <i>Cist</i> | 73-75 |
| 1. With a following Relative Clause..... | 73-74 |
| 2. With a following <i>de</i> -phrase..... | 74-75 |
| B. The Adjective <i>Cist</i> | 75-79 |
| 1. With a following Relative Clause..... | 75-77 |
| 2. With a following <i>de</i> -phrase..... | 77-78 |
| 3. With a following Adjective..... | 78 |
| 4. With self-evident Determinator omitted..... | 78-79 |

| | |
|--|---------|
| CHAPTER V.—DETERMINATIVE FORCE OF <i>Cil</i> | 80-100 |
| A. The Pronoun <i>Cil</i> | 80-95 |
| 1. With a following Relative Clause..... | 80-85 |
| a. <i>Come cil qui</i> | 85-88 |
| b. <i>N'i a cel qui</i> | 88-90 |
| 2. With a following <i>de</i> -phrase..... | 90-94 |
| 3. With other Prepositional Phrases..... | 94 |
| 4. With a following Adjective..... | 95 |
| 5. With a following Adverb..... | 95 |
| B. The Adjective <i>Cil</i> | 95-100 |
| 1. With a following Relative Clause..... | 95-97 |
| 2. With self-evident Determinator omitted..... | 97-100 |
| CHAPTER VI.— <i>Cist</i> AND <i>Cil</i> EQUIVALENT TO DEFINITE ARTICLE.. | 101-103 |
| CHAPTER VII.— <i>Cil</i> PRONOUN . . . <i>Cist</i> ADJECTIVE..... | 104-106 |
| CHAPTER VIII.— <i>Cist</i> , <i>Cil</i> . . . <i>Icist</i> , <i>Icil</i> | 107-117 |
| 1. Extent of Use of <i>I</i> -Forms..... | 107-109 |
| 2. Differentiation of <i>I</i> -Forms and Simple Forms..... | 109-117 |
| a. In Poetry— <i>I</i> -Forms at Beginning of Line and after or before Caesura..... | 109-115 |
| b. In Prose— <i>I</i> -Forms at Beginning of Sentence or Word-group | 115-117 |
| LIFE..... | 119 |

LIST OF TEXTS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

The citations in this dissertation are drawn from the following works, for the majority of which the abbreviations employed by Tobler in his *Vermischte Beiträge* are used:

- Alex.*—*La vie de Saint Alexis* - - p. p. Gaston Paris, Paris, 1903.
Am. et Am.—*Amis et Amiles* - - herausg. v. Conrad Hofmann, Erlangen, 1882.
Auc.—*Aucassin und Nicolette* - - herausg. v. Hermann Suchier, Paderborn, 1899.
Chart C.—*Le curial par Alain Chartier* - - p. p. Ferdinand Heuckenkamp, Halle, 1899.
Ch. II esp.—*Li Chevaliers as deus espees* - - herausg. v. Wendelin Foerster, Halle, 1877.
Ch. lyon—*Der Löwenritter von Christian von Troyes* - - herausg. v. Wendelin Foerster, Halle, 1902.
Ch. XVS.—*Chansons du XVe Siècle* - - p. p. Gaston Paris, Paris, 1875.
Com.—*Mémoires de Philippe de Commines* - - p. p. R. Chantelauze, Paris, 1881.
C. Orl.—*Les Poésies du duc Charles d'Orléans* - - p. p. Aimé Champollion-Figeac, Paris, 1842.
C. Pis. L. E.—*Le Livre du Chemin de Long Estude par Cristine de Pisan* - - p. p. Robert Püschel, Berlin, 1881.
C. Pis. P.—*Oeuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan* - - p. p. Maurice Roy, Paris, 1886.
Dial. Gr.—*Li Dialogue Gregoire lo Pape* - - herausg. v. Wendelin Foerster, Halle, 1876.
Froiss. Chr.—*Oeuvres de Froissart* - - p. p. M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1875.
Froiss. P.—*Oeuvres de Froissart, Poésies* - - p. p. Auguste Scheler, Bruxelles, 1870.
Ille—*Ille und Galeron von Walter von Arras* - - herausg. v. Wendelin Foerster, Halle, 1891.
Joinv.—*Histoire de Saint Louis par Jean sire de Joinville* - - p. p. Natalis de Wailly, nouvelle édition, Paris, 1890.
Karls R.—*Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel* - - herausg. v. Eduard Koschwitz, Leipzig, 1900.
L. Man.—*Le Livre des manières par Etienne de Fougère* - - p. p. Talbert, Angers, 1877.
L. Mest.—*Le Livre des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau* - - p. p. René de Lespinasse et François Bonnardot, Paris, 1879.

- L. Rois*—*Les quatre Livres des Rois* - - p. p. LeRoux de Lincy, Paris, 1841.
- Mer.*—*Meraugis von Portlesgues von Raoul von Houdenc* - - herausg. v. Mathias Friedwagner, Halle, 1897.
- Meyer Rec.*—*Recueil d'anciens textes bas-latins, provençaux et français* - - p. p. Paul Meyer, Paris, 1877.
- M. Fce.*—*Die Lais der Marie de France* - - herausg. v. Karl Warnke, Halle, 1900.
- Fa.*—*Die Fabeln der Marie de France* - - herausg. v. Karl Warnke, Halle, 1898.
- Oaths.*—*Oaths of Strasburg* - - p. p. Eduard Koschwitz in *Les plus anciens monuments*, Leipzig, 1902.
- XV Joies*—*Les quinze Joyes de mariage* - - Paris, Jannet, 1853.
- Rob. et Mar.*—*Le Jeu de Robin et Marion par Adam le Bossu* - - p. p. Ernest Langlois, Paris, 1896.
- R. G. S.*—*Recueil Général des Sotties* - - p. p. Emile Picot, Paris, 1902.
- Rol.*—*Das altfranzösische Rolandslied* - - herausg. v. E. Stengel, Leipzig, 1900.
- Rose*—*Le Roman de la Rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meung* - - p. p. Francisque Michel, Paris, 1864.
- Rou*—*Maistre Waces Roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie* - - herausg. v. Hugo Andresen, Heilbronn, 1877-1879.
- Ruteb.*—*Rustebeuf's Gedichte* - - herausg. v. Adolf Kressner, Wolfenbüttel, 1885.
- Villeh.*—*La Conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin* - - p. p. Natalis de Wailly, Paris, 1872.
- Villon*—*Oeuvres Complètes de François Villon* - - p. p. Auguste Longnon, Paris, 1892.
- Gildersleeve-Lodge*—*Latin Grammar*, third edition, 1894.
-

INTRODUCTION.

The demonstratives *cist* and *cil* played an important part in the French Language of the Middle Ages, a part much more important than that which their corresponding representatives play in the modern language. The use of the forms *cil* and *cist* was more extensive in Old French than that of the corresponding *celui* and *ce(t)* in Modern French, not only because each of these words was employed both as pronoun and adjective, but also because they fulfilled various functions that have been performed in later times by other parts of speech, for example, by the personal pronoun or by the relative. This prominence of the demonstrative in Old French is due in great measure to the nature of the literature at the epoch in question.

One of the striking characteristics of this literature is its comparative simplicity of construction, due more perhaps than to any other single cause to a marked tendency to parataxis. In many cases where the Modern French subordinates one proposition to another by means of the use of a relative or of some other part of speech or locution, the old language preferred a coördination of ideas and construction. The use of a demonstrative as subject of the second member of such a coördinative construction was natural and common in Old French.

Again, the old literature is in the main objective and narrative. This characteristic invited the frequent use of demonstratives, particularly of *cil*. Its prototype, *ille*, was used in Latin (and we shall see that the same was true of *cil* in French, at least to a certain degree) to refer to persons, objects or events which were at a distance from the speaker. A word of such inherent value was exceedingly convenient and fitting for the *jongleurs*, the composers of romances, the anna-

lists and historians, who wrote in the majority of cases of personages and events that belonged to past ages, to distant and sometimes mythical lands.

Another characteristic of the Old French literature is its vividness of presentation, an effect to which the nature of demonstrative words greatly contributes.

CHAPTER I.

DEMONSTRATIVE FORCE OF *CIST*.

Demonstrative words in themselves are of no absolute inherent value. They are dependent for the force they may be made to possess on movement and situation. A nod of the head, a glance of the eye, or a pointing with the finger often gives to the word "this," for example, an unmistakable and considerable force which would be wholly lacking without the accompanying nod, glance, or gesture. Again, "this" in the phrases "this place" and "this moment" conveys no definite demonstrative idea until the local and temporal circumstances in which the phrases are uttered are known. In investigating the demonstrative force of *cist*, or of any other similar word, it is therefore necessary always to consider the situation in which it is employed. The question of gesture, although of less importance, cannot be disregarded.

Having called attention to the importance of the situation, or point of view, as the basis for a study of the demonstrative force of any word, let us see what an examination of our representative series of Old French texts reveals in regard to the demonstrative force of *cist*.

1. *Cist* = TEMPORAL NEARNESS.

Cist, expressing the concept of nearness,¹ is used with demon-

¹ For the demonstrative force of *iste*, the Latin prototype of *cist*, as well as for a general treatment of the other demonstratives in Latin, see Gildersleeve-Lodge, p. 192. A knowledge of what took place with reference to the principal demonstratives in the transition from Latin to Old French is here presupposed. *Hic*, the so-called pronoun of the first person, used in Latin to designate objects or persons that stood in a relation of nearness to the speaker, disappeared except in its neuter form. *Iste*, whose fundamental meaning in Latin was "this of yours," took the place

strative force in Old French in expressions of present time or of present situation. The point of view is either that of the writer or that of one of his characters.

Merchi, dame, ce est noiens
De mon seior a *ceste* fois,

Ch. II esp., 7144-7145.

With the words *hour, day, week, month, season, year, mortal life*:

E Deu out . . . dit à Samuel: Demain à *cest*² ure, te enveierai
un barun de terre de Benjamin,

L. Rois, IV, IV.

des *iceste* hore,³

Dial. Gr., 18, 21.

a *ceste* eure,

Ch. II esp., 3207.

dont [trésor] tu ne te peus à *ceste* heure aidier,

Joinv., 587.

pour *ceste* heure,

R. G. S., 126, 153.

d'*ist* di in avant,

Oaths.

Ja ne passera

Cist jorz

Que n'aïiez fet le mariage,

Ch. lyon, 2132-2134.

Purquei nus a Deu à *cest* jur si descunfiz?,

L. Rois, I, IV.

of *hic*, and in a general way was used in Old French to refer to all those persons or objects which do not lie in the domain of Latin *ille*, that is, in the domain of the more or less remote with reference to the speaker. The latter pronoun, roughly speaking, maintained in Old French its Latin force. Both *iste* and *ille* were augmented in the popular Latin by the exclamation *ecce*; cf. Gust. Rydberg, *Zur Geschichte des französischen*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 295 *et seq.*

²The French here corresponds to the words of the Latin version: *hac ipsa hora*. In this and subsequent cases where the Latin is cited in connection with corresponding passages from *L. Rois*, I quote from the edition of *The Kings* by LeRoux de Lincy; see list of texts and abbreviations, pp. ix-x.

³Latin: *ex hac hora*; cf. Foerster's edition of the *Dial. Gr.*; see list of texts and abbreviations, pp. ix-x.

Puis *icest* ior en avant,

Ch. II esp., 6662.

encore en parlerons-nous . . . de *ceste* journée,

Joinv., 242.

Locutions like “*ui cest jorn*,” “*cest ior d’ui*,” corresponding to “*aujourd’hui*” of the Modern French, “*hodie*” of the Latin, are very common:

Poruec en est *ui cest jorn* onorez,

Alex., CIX.

ge lasseiz de la voie *hui cest ior* non puis pas eissir,

Dial. Gr., 23, 10.

Hui an cest jor sont les huitaves,

Ch. Lyon, 2575.

A *cest jur de ui*⁴ n’en iert nuls ocis, car à cest jur ad Deu fait salu en Israel,

L. Rois, I, XI.

Puis *icest ior d’ui* vous desfi,

Ch. II esp., 6266.

Mes a tant en prendra sa part

Jusqu’a .I. an de *cest jor d’ui*,

Mer., 1128-1129.

Grant grace, fist-il, devons à Nostre Signour de ce qu’il nous a fait tiex dous honnours en *ceste* semaine,

Joinv., 279.

Ja ne verrat passer *cest* premier meis,

Rol., 83.

Quar je n’ai doseine ne fes,

en ma meson,

De busche por *ceste* seson,

Ruteb., 6, 69-71.

Ja vostre cors de *cest* an n’isse,

Rose, I, 302.

A vivre en *ceste* mortel vie,

Ruteb., 29, 65.

Forms of *cist* are also used in referring to various Church festivals of a current year:

pour aler en France à *ceste* Pasque qui vient,

Joinv., 610.

que vous alez en Acre à *ce* quaresme,

Ibid., 616.

⁴ Latin: in die hac.

Before leaving the consideration of those cases in which *cist* has an evident demonstrative force in combination with words of time, let us notice the two following examples. In the first the father of Aucassin is speaking to him about Nicolette:

si li donra [li visquens] un de *ces* jors un baceler,

Auc., 2, 31.

Veniciens et Fleurentins

Avecquez Franchoyz, notez bien

Qu'on verra ung de *ces* matins

Que l'assemblément n'en vault rien,

R. G. S., 230, 550-553.

Here we find illustrated a use of *cist* which is not uncommon in the Old French and which is met with frequently in the modern language. The temporal idea expressed in such locutions as *un de ces jours* is of an indefinite nature. The explanation of the use here of *cist* lies in the fact that the realization of the action may be expected at any point of a period of future time to which the speaker is looking forward, and which is coming ever nearer.

In addition to being used in temporal expressions with words actually signifying time, *cist* occurs very frequently referring to a present object, condition, state of affairs, etc.

Cist duels l'avrat encui par acorede,

Alex., LXXX.

Par Deu, ço dist l'escolte, *cist* gas est bels et bons,

Karls R., 505.

Veeir pöez dolente rieregarde;

Ki *ceste* fait jamais nen ferat altre,

Rol., 1104-1105.

Ne vos movez por nule rien

Tant que *cist* diaus soit abeissiez,

Ch. lyon, 1310-1311.

Mielz nus venist que senz seigneur

fussuns tut tens qu'aveir *cestui*,

Fa., XIX, 14-15.

Si murrad Jonathas ki ad fait *icest* grant salu en Israel?,

L. Rois, I, XIV.

Vint ans a ja duré *ceste* guerre, c'onques ne pot iestre acieevee par home,

Auc., 10, 39-40.

Or pri a Dieu que il li plese
Ceste dolor, *ceste* mesese
 Et *ceste* enfance
 M'atort a vraie penitance,

Ruteb., 4, 134-137.

Sire, aourez soies-tu de *ceste* soufraite que tu me fais,

Joinv., 416.

Quant le roy de France, père a ce roy Charles, fut de ce siècle
 trespasé,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 75.

Other examples in which *cist* is used with a temporal force, either with words of time or in expressions of a present situation, are common.⁵ In the texts examined no instance has come to my attention in which, if the situation involves merely a concept of present time, any other demonstrative than *cist* is used.

2. *Cist* = LOCAL NEARNESS.

Cist, expressing the concept of nearness, is used with demonstrative force in Old French in expressions of place. The point of view is either that of the writer or that of one of his characters.

⁵ Compare:

Alex., XXXVIII, LXIV, CI.

Karls R., 578, 616.

Rol., 242, 1280, 2107, 2751.

Rou., II, 698; II, 2215; II, 2217.

L. Rois, I, IV; I, V; I, VIII; I, X; I, XXVI; II, XII; II, XVI;
 III, II; III, VIII; IV, IV.

Dial. Gr., 14, 13; 21, 9; 46, 8.

Villeh., 41.

Mer., 1090.

Ch. II esp., 1538, 3701, 6245, 8461, 8995.

Rose, I, 260; I, 270; I, 290.

Ruteb., 5, 37; 5, 49; 29, 90; 65, 102; 69, 64; 212, 238.

Rob. et Mar., 16, 285.

Joinv., 44, 49, 59, 204, 225, 278, 342, 395, 416, 500, 616, 653, 754.

C. Pis. L. E., 185.

R. G. S., 7, 34; 18, 40; 39, 338; 39, 340; 40, 361; 68, 42; 105, 468;
 133, 300; 133, 301.

Aust est, e requerrai Deu qu'il face tuner e pluie enveit en terre
encuntre le usage de *cest* païs à icest cuntemple,

L. Rois, I, XII.

This example illustrates the use of *cist* both as a temporal and local qualifier.

Se ieo respas,
Jeo ferai a *cest* lieu honur,

Rou, I, 615-616.

With the words *city*, *country*, *land*, *kingdom*, *world*, etc.:

Tenez les clés de *ceste* citét large,

Rol., 654.

Li queiz Basiles nient apres long tens en *icest*^a Romain bore fut
ars de fou,

Dial. Gr., 19, 9.

Seignor, nos avons *ceste* vile conquise, . . . nos ne troveriens mie
marchié en autre leu, et *ceste* vile si est mult riche,

Villeh., 86.

Sire, fait ele, ne vos esmailiés pas; que dusqu'a pou le vos arai en
éceste vile amenee,

Auc., 40, 25-26.

Et lera semer par dotance
Ypocrisie sa semance
Qui est dame de *ceste* vile,

Ruteb., 24, 48.

Car je ferai acheter toutes les viandes en *ceste* ville,

Joinv., 400.

En *cest* païs ad set anz osteiét,

Rol., 35.

Jeo ne puis par mei sul maintenir *cest* païs,

Rou, II, 1443.

Seignor, je sai plus del couvine de *cest* païs que vos ne faites,

Villeh., 130.

Quant il estoit en *cest* païs,

Ruteb., 75, 63.

vous n'avez pooir de demourer en *cest* païs,

Joinv., 423.

le roy de France envoya en *cest* pays messire Rogier d'Espagne,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 73.

S'or me conoissent mi parent d'*este* terre,

^a Latin: in hac Romana urbe.

Il me prendront par pri o par podeste,

Alex., XLI.

Rou cunquist *ceste* terre cume pruz e hardiz,

Rou, II, 1454.

Moie est la ville et l'annors qui apent,
Ceste terre est a mon commandement,

Am. et Am., 2134-2135.

Molt en avons de sa nature
En *ceste* terre,

Ruteb., 68, 26-27.

Or est fors mis de *cest* roiaume
Li bons preudom,

Ibid., 82, 47-48.

Ge toi conieur . . . ke ie ne face sor toi set iors en *icest* mont,¹

Dial. Gr., 32, 11.

Ne les panriez por tout l'or de *cest* mond,

Am. et Am., 635.

Homs qui aime ne puet bien faire,
N'a nul preu de *ce* monde entendre,

Rose, I, 99.

Je te cuit conduire de fait
En autre monde plus parfait,
Ou tu pourras trop plus aprendre
Que ne pues en *cestui* comprendre,

C. Pis. L. E., 649-652.

A group of examples, interesting as showing the demonstrative force of *cist*, is that in which we have a reference by the author himself to the work he is writing.⁸

Del rei Henri voil faire *ceste* premiere page,

Rou, Chronique ascendante, 17.

Et bien tesmoigne Joffrois li marechaus de Champaigne, qui *cestre* oeuvre dita,

Villeh., 120.

Mes tant com *cist* siecles durra,
Durra *cist* contes en grant pris,

Mer., 22-23.

Bien les devise *cis* Romans,

Rose, I, 67.

¹ Latin: In hoc mundo.

⁸ For *hic* with similar force in Latin, see Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 305, 4. The use of *ce* in such a connection as the one here noted is common in Modern French.

li quel . . . loerent moult *ceste* oeuvre,

L. Mest., Prémambule.

En la dareniere partie de *cest* livre parlerons de sa fin,

Joinv., 17.

Sicomme il est contenu cy-dessus ou premier volume de *cestes* croniques,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 16.

Pour vous donner matiere aucunement

De soulacier, ay fait presentement

Cestui dictié que j'ay en termes mis,

C. Pis. L. E., 35-37.

Et a dieu te commande par *cest* escript,

Chart. C., 27, 22.

Intimately connected with the examples just cited, in which we have a suggestion of "this . . . of mine," are those cases where the possessive word is actually expressed. Here, in addition to the local idea, one of closer personal relationship with the speaker is implied.⁹

si salvarai eo *cist* meon fradre Karlo,

Oaths.

Dist Blancandins: "Par *ceste* meie destre,"

Rol., 47.

Cest mien seigneur en bataille faillirent,

Ibid., 2718.

Vostre terre, dist il, vus rent par *cest mien* gant,

Rou, II, 664.

Mes or metez an vostre doi

Cest mien anel, que je vos prest,

Ch. lyon, 2600-2601.

Me garantist et cors et teste

.

Forré d'agniaus *cist miens* buriaus

Rose, I, 301

Vallés tu t'en iras,

Cest mien escu en porteras,

Ch. II esp., 6239-6240.

Again, *cist* is used by the writer or speaker in a sense ex-

⁹ Compare use of *cil*, "that . . . of yours," *infra*, pp. 36-37. In Modern French *ce* is occasionally used in archaic and familiar style with the possessive adjective *mien*. See Littré, under *ce* and *mien*.

pressing even closer relationship than that noted in the preceding examples; *cist* is here the speaker himself.¹⁰

Que fet que ne se tue
Cist las, qui joie s'est tolue,

Ch. Lyon, 3531-3532.

Sire Diex, que fera *cist dolenz esbahiz*,

Ruteb., 216, 396.

Et s'i ne vous plait, si vous preigne pitie de *ceste chietive* qui ci gist,
Villeh., 399.

Il sent donc le jaulne,
Se *vieillard?*,

R. G. S., 33, 253-254.

There is still another large group of examples in which *cist* has a strong demonstrative force in a local sense. Either the context, or some word or clause in the sentence itself, shows that the person or object referred to is in immediate proximity.

Sire huem Deu, n'en aies pas en despit ma anme ne les anmes à *ces* tes serfs ki od mei sunt,

L. Rois, IV, I.

Al ure que Giezi cuntad cume Helysen out le mort suscited, este vus la dame e ses fiz od li ki li prophète out suscited, e requist le rei de ses dreiz e de sun herited: Sire, Sire, fist Giezi, ço est la femme e *cist* est ses fiz de ki jo t'ai cunted,¹¹

Ibid., IV, VIII.

¹⁰ Compare similar use of *hic* in Latin, Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 305, 1. *Ce* is found occasionally in like constructions in Modern French; see Victor Hugo, *Hernani*, III, IV:

Hélas! j'ai blasphémé! Si j'étais a ta place,
Doña Sol, j'en aurais assez, je serais lasse
De *ce* fou furieux, de *ce* sombre insensé
Qui ne sait caresser qu'après qu'il a blessé.

¹¹ This example is interesting not only as it shows the local demonstrative force of *cist*, but also that it combines a Latin and a French construction in connection with the pronoun standing before the verb *être* and a predicate noun. The Latin of the passage is: Dixitque Giezi: Domine rex, haec est mulier, et hic est filius ejus, quem suscitavit Eliseus. The Latin construction, in which a demonstrative before a copulative verb accords with a predicate noun, was rare in Old French, and even in the oldest monuments the invariable neuter *ce*, instead of an inflected form of the demonstrative, is found to be the established rule.

Lores parlad li reis, si dist: *Ceste* dit: mes fiz vit e li tuns est morz, e *ceste* altre respunt: Nun est si, mais morz est li tuns, e li miens est vifs,

Ibid., III, III.

Both of the persons referred to are in the presence of the king. As each *ceste* was pronounced, it was accompanied by a gesture.

Cil a l'espee

De cui fief *cist* castiaus est ci,

Ch. II esp., 8084-8085.

Cist arcevesque et *cist* evesque qui ci sont m'ont chargié,

Joinv., 670.

en *cest* livre que je tieing en ma main,

Ibid., 26.

Ysaï menad Samuel Aminadab. Respondi Samuel: Ne *cestui*¹² n'ad pas Deu eslit. Dunc fist avant venir Samma. Respondi Samuel: Ne *cestui*¹³ n'ad pas Deu eslit. Dunc menad Ysaï ses set fiz devant Samuel, e il redist: Nul de *ces*¹⁴ n'ad Deu eslit. Dun ne n'as-tu plus fiz? Respondi Ysaï: Ol, un petit ki guarded noz brebiz. Fist Samuel: Fai-lè venir, kar nus ne mangeruns si que il seit venuz. Mandez fut. E vint; e fud alques russet e de bel semblant, e de bele chièr. Dist nostre Seignur a Samuel: Liève, si l'enuing; *cist*¹⁵ est mis esliz,

L. Rois, I, XVI.

The examples of *cist* just cited are typical of the several large groups to which they belong. All cases in our texts where *cist* is used with local force, either with words of place or in expressions where the context shows that the object referred to stands in a relation of proximity to the speaker, fall into one or another of the above groups.¹⁶ In no case have I found an example in which, if the situation involved merely a concept of local nearness, any other demonstrative than *cist* is used.

¹² Latin: Nec hunc elegit Dominus.

¹³ Latin: Etiam hunc non elegit.

¹⁴ Latin: Non elegit ex istis.

¹⁵ Latin: Surge, unge eum, ipse est enim.

¹⁶ For additional cases of local *cist*, see:

Myer Rec., 197, 206.

Alex., XIV, LXXIII, LXXIV, CI, CIV, CVII.

Karls R., 149, 320, 528, 551, 557, 562.

Rol., 17, 134, 197, 266, 276, 515, 1023, 1100, 1166, 1393, 1479, 2183, 2282, 2583, 3343.

a. *Cist used because Speaker assumes Attitude of Spectator.*

At this point I would note a process by which a new situation that makes the use of *cist* natural was frequently created. The Old French writers had a tendency, when they described events that had taken place previously to their writing or in a distant land, to change their point of view from time to time in the course of the narrative; that is, to transfer themselves into the *milieu* of the events in question. Whenever this tendency became reality, a new situation was created. From the point of view of this new situation, action that was in the past is now

Rou., 11, 109; 11, 207; 11, 495; 11, 1258; 11, 2298.

L. Rois., I, I; I, VI; I, IX; I, XII; I, XVI; I, XV, II; I, XXI; I, XXV; II, XVI; II, XXIV; III, VIII; III, XV; III, XVIII; IV, XVIII; IV, XX.

M. Fce., 4, 55; 6, 22.

Fa., I, 8; II, 11; XIII, 14.

Am. et Am., 103, 1419, 2934.

Ch. Lyon., 334, 398, 341, 1023, 1066, 1067, 1127, 1263, 2114, 5729, 5970.

Dial. Gr., 11, 8; 17, 17; 17, 24; 19, 23; 21, 24; 27, 13; 37, 1; 38, 7; 38, 20; 39, 17; 48, 62.

Villeh., 59, 62, 63, 86, 122, 484.

Auc., 2, 29-30; 4, 5; 5, 21; 6, 13; 11, 39; 18, 19; 22, 17; 22, 30; 22, 32; 22, 35; 24, 38; 24, 43; 26, 17.

Mer., 374.

Ch. II esp., 415, 796, 997, 1292, 1312, 1541, 2805, 2831, 3797, 3974, 4407, 4967, 4989, 5551, 5685, 7278, 7279, 7295, 7327, 9017, 11267.

Rose, I, 20; I, 65; I, 179; I, 210; I, 211; I, 315.

Ruteb., 23, 173; 31, 192; 47, 34; 52, 8; 58, 1; 58, 9; 59, 49; 65, 71; 78, 4; 197, 55; 198, 91; 207, 49; 211, 186; 216, 392; 220, 574; 222, 640; 222, 652; 236, 622; 239, 770.

L. Mest., VIII, IV; X, V; LI, XVI.

Rob. et Mar., 23, 24.

Joinv., 4, 15, 18, 24, 25, 26, 35, 36, 38, 41, 61, 69, 116, 189, 234, 238, 242, 253, 332, 371, 372, 398, 399, 400, 419, 423, 462, 485, 510, 580, 586, 641, 650, 653, 738, 756, 759, 768.

C. Pis. L. E., 37, 79, 118, 165, 315, 688, 889, 959, 1007, 1009, 1098.

Froiss. Chr., Prog. II, 7; IX, 141; IX, 159; XI, 5; XI, 35; XI, 41.

R. G. S., 23, 108; 24, 117; 28, 178; 29, 188; 32, 235; 33, 246; 33, 256; 40, 360; 41, 370; 41, 377; 42, 390; 85, 234; 107, 494.

Chart. C., 5, 9.

C. Orl., 170, 22.

in the present, hence the use of verb forms in the present tense instead of in the past as they were used before; the objects that were removed in time, place, or both, are now near, hence *cist* is the demonstrative that is used in referring to them. The following examples, in which we have a combination of verb forms in the present and forms out of *ecce + iste*, are among the many that might be cited from the domain of Old French literature to illustrate the change of situation, or point of view, of the author. Some of them are also excellent examples of vividness of style.

Nel reconourent ne ne l'ont enterciet.
 Damz Alexis en lodet Deu del ciel
 D'icez sons sers cui il est almosniers;
 Il fut lour sire, ore est lour provendiers,

Alex., XXV.

In the first of these lines, and in the first half of the fourth, the author is writing from the historian's point of view; that is, about events that happened in the past and in a distant country. This is shown by the use of the verb forms in the past. In the second and third lines, however, comes a change in the point of view; the author allows his imagination to carry him back to a point in time and place from which he views the picture that passes before his eyes. It is for this reason that we have in these lines verb forms in the present, instead of in the past, and *icez*, instead of a corresponding form out of *ecce + ille*.

Mult est vassals Carles de France dulce;
 Li amiralz il nel crient ne ne dutet.
 Cez lor espees tutes nües i mustrent,
 Sur cez escuz mult granz cols s'entredunent,
 Trenchent cez fuz et cez quirs ki sont duble,
 Chieent li clou; si pecieent les bucles,
 Puis fierent il nud a nud sur lur bronies;
 Des helmes clers li fous en escarbunclet.
 Ceste bataille ne poet remaneir unkes,
 Josque li uns sun tort i reconuisset,

Rol., 3579-3588.

The picture here is exceedingly vivid; the writer is an eye-

witness of the events described; he is so near in his imagination to the two hostile armies that everything takes place before him. The swords, the shields, the lances, etc., are "*these* swords, *these* shields, *these* lances here before me." ¹⁷

Li barun e li cunte, li viel e li puisné
Virent le gentil regne a grant hunte atorné;

Veient les mustiers ars e le pueple tué

Veient la felunie, *veient* la cruelté
 Des Normanz e de Rou, ki le regne *unt gasté*:

 Marcheant aler n'*osent* n'a chastel n'a cité,
 Vilains n'*osent* en vigne laburer ne en pré.
 Se *ceste* chose *dure*, mult *aurunt* grant chierté,
 Ja tant cum guerre seit n'en *aurunt* grant plenté.
Face paiz as Normanz, trop a *cist* mals *duré*,

Rou, II, 1067-1080.

In this example special attention is called to the verb forms, *virent*, preterit on the one hand, and on the other, *veient*, *osent*, *unt gasté*, *aurunt*, *face*, a *duré*, all of which are either present or rest on a concept of present time. These verb forms and the forms of the pronoun, *ceste* and *cist*, clearly show the change in point of view by the writer.

il *vit* an une valee
 Tot seul pasturer un chevruel.
Cestui prandra il,

Ch. lyon, 3444-3446.

Et quant il *furent* assamblé [les barons] al paveillon le fil l'empereor
 Sursac, si lor conte *ceste* novele,

Villeh., 183.

Et Aucassins les *comença* a regarder se s'en *esmervella* mout durement.

Aucassins *est* arestés
 sor son aréon acoutés,
 si *coumenée* a regarder
ée plenier estor canpel,

Auc., 30, 18-19, 31, 1-4.

¹⁷ Compare in this connection *cist* equivalent to definite article, *infra*, pp. 101-103.

Et apries
 Rois Estrangares seoir uint,

 Li rois Bruaus
 A pres cestui siet et menue,

Ch. II esp., 104-110.

Dunkes entrerent li Franc l'oratoire, si comenc(i)erent forsenant a
 querre Libertin, a crieir Libertin, la u il gisoit ius esterneiz en orison.
Merueilhouse est ceste chose.

Dial. Gr., 12, 5.

In the last example, as in those preceding it, we have a change of situation, but the citation from the *Dial. Gr.* presents a new feature in the direction of the change. Here the speaker, when he pronounces the words "*Merueilhouse est ceste chose*," is moving an event of the past up to the present, to his own time and place, whereas in the case of the other examples cited thus far, the speaker or writer transfers himself from the present back into the past, to the time and place of the event he is¹⁸ describing.

b. Cist = Nearness in Interest.

Cist is used with demonstrative force in Old French in expressions that imply nearness in point of present interest. *Cist* is here used to refer back to persons, objects, conditions, events, place, time, words, etc., which have just been mentioned in the course of the narrative or conversation, and which are therefore momentarily present to the mind of the writer or speaker.¹⁹

La u *cist* furent des altres i out bien,

Rol., 108.

The author has just mentioned in the preceding lines those knights who were with Charles.

¹⁸ In connection with the above question of the combination of forms out of *ecce* + *iste* and verb forms in the present tense, compare what is said on forms of *cil* and past tenses, *infra*, pp. 29-131.

¹⁹ For corresponding use of *hic* in Latin, see Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 305, 5. Cf. the *historical cil*, *infra*, pp. 30-31.

E Charles tint France e Burguine
Cist Charles fu Charles li Chals,

Rou, I, 297-298.

Uns prudums mest en Bethléem; Ysaï out num, pères fud David de
 qui devant partie est tuchié, e out uit fiz. E *cist* Ysaï al tens Saül
 fud de grant eage,²⁰

L. Rois, I, XVII.

After mentioning the six sons of David, the text continues:

Li sistes out nun Jethram; fiz fud Eggla la muiller David.
 E *ces*²¹ furent nez en Ebron,

Ibid., II, III.

Se nus de *cez* deus la requiert,
 Ja contredite ne li iert,

Ch. lyon, 689-690.

cez refers to Keu and Gauvain who have just been mentioned;
la refers to the combat in question.

A la glise de *cestui*²² fut mult grande povreteiz,

Dial. Gr., 34, 2.

Boniface, the subject of the discourse, has just been mentioned
 and is therefore present in the mind of the writer.

Sire, tes cousins est morz; tu voiz le damage qui a la terre d'outremer
 est avenuz. Por Dieu te volons proier que tu preignes la croiz et
 sequeures la terre d'outremer el leu *cestui*,

Villeh., 38.

Du roiaume des Illes sui
 Cheualiers, fix d'un uauasor,
 Si n'i a ne roi ne seignour
 En *cest* pais fors une dame,

Ch. II esp., 2798-2801.

We have here an excellent example of the *cist* of present
 interest. Although the country referred to by the knight is at
 a distance and would therefore naturally be designated by the
 demonstrative of remoteness, the fact that the idea of it fills

²⁰ And in the commentary to this passage we read: Mais entre *ces* uit,
 uns sis niès, Nathan par nun, fud anumbrez.

²¹ Latin: Hi nati sunt David in Hebron.

²² Latin: Huius ecclesiae gravis valde paupertas inerat.

the mind of the speaker at the time he refers to it causes the use of the pronoun of nearness.

Et ancois k'eust bien contees
Ces nouieles, ele l'acole
Tant lie k'ele ne parole
De grant piece, et il aussi li;
Et quant *cis* acolers fali
La dame dist,

Ch. II esp., 8354-8359.

Ceste gent dont je vous parole
S'estoient pris à la carole,

Rose, I, 24.

Car ge metroie trop à dire
Les fais Néron, le cruel home,
.
Cis ot les cuers plus durs que pierre,

Ibid., I, 206.

Icist bons preudom
Preudome crut,

Ruteb., 76, 82-83.

En *cest* estat et sans assaillir, tint il ses ennemis plus de quinze
jours,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 33.

Froissart has just described the state of affairs alluded to in the text. In like manner Joinville, in speaking of a difficulty he had to get a certain sum of money, says:

En *ceste* mesaise de cuer je fu quatre jours,

Joinv., 414.

Of very common occurrence is the use of the *cist* of present interest in expressions of transition in which the author or speaker refers back to what has just been mentioned as "this thing," "these things," "this word," "these words," etc.:

Mes sachiez bien, que des or mes
N'avroiz de moi triues ne pes.
A *cest* mot nos antrevenimes,

Ch. lyon, 515-517.

Quant *cez* choses furent assises,

Ibid., 3314.

cez choses sunt mult vraies cui tu dis,

Dial. Gr., 24, 22.

De *ces* noveles furent il mult troblé,

Villeh., 336.

L'avoir que il ont amassé
Et li ombres d'un viel fossé
Ces deus choses ont un semblant,

Ruteb., 48, 46-48.

Aler m'en vueil. Prie por moi.
A *cest* mot s'est de lui partie,

Ibid., 244, 962-963.

Et *ceste* chose fist li soudans,

Joinv., 286.

Tandis que il estoient en *ces* paroles, uns siens chevaliers li escria,
Ibid., 556.

A *ces* propos respondi Ferrant Galopes,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 11.

With this group are to be classified all those cases in which Marie de France and other fabulists use a form of *cist* in the moral of a fable, referring back to the fable itself.

Par *iceste* signefiance
poum entendre quel creance
deivent avoir li mort es vis,

Fa., XXV, 37.

As *cist* is used to refer back to what the author has just expressed, so it may stand in anticipation of what is to follow, usually in the form of direct discourse.²³

E la dame lur fist *cest* respuns: Co dirrez a celi ki chà vus enveiad,
L. Rois, IV, XXII.

*Ces*²⁴ furent princes en la curt le rei Salomon: [the list of princes follows],

Ibid., III, IV.

Des or croi je bien *cest* latin:
Mals voisins done mal matin,

Ruteb., 77, 119-120.

Cist tytres parole des Fevres Couteliers de Paris [the regulations follow],

L. Mest., XVI.

Crisostome, ce n'est pas guille,
Dit dessus Mathieu l'evangille
Cestes meismes propres paroles

²³ For corresponding use of *hic* in Latin, see Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 305, 6.

²⁴ Latin: Et hi principes quos habebat.

Que je diray, non pas frivoles,

C. Pis. L. E., 4193-4196.

Examples of the *cist* of present interest referring to something just mentioned, might be added indefinitely. With few exceptions I have cited all those cases that occur in our texts where the *cist* refers to what follows.

3. *Cist* . . . *Cist* INDEFINITE.

There is in Old French a use of *cist* in which this word is employed with an indefinite force, to express in a general way the idea "one . . . another," "such and such a one."²⁵ This indefinite *cist* was originally demonstrative, as is shown by the following example:

E li Franceis trebuchent a turbes en la plaigne;
Cist trebuche, *cist* gist, e *cist* muert e *cist* saigne,

Rou, II, 800-801.

The author here assumes the attitude of a spectator, and naturally designates, perhaps with a gesture, each victim as "this one," for he falls or lies dead right before his eyes. Note also the following citation in which *cist* has about the same demonstrative force as in the example from *Rou*:

Et dit chascuns et *cist* et *cist*:
 Antre nos est cil, qui l'ocist,

Ch. lyon, 1199-1200.

In the following examples, which belong to a later period than the two just cited, we have forms of the indefinite *cist* that no longer possess any demonstrative force at all.

Se Beguine se marie
 S'est sa conversacion;
 Ses veuz, sa prophecion
 N'est pas a tote sa vie.
Cest an plore et *cest* an prie,

²⁵ Compare *infra*, p. 46.

Et *cest* an penra baron,

Ruteb., 63, 11-16.

Autrefois dit à la fléuste
 C'onques fame ne trova juste.
 Il n'est nule que ne se rie,
 S'ele oit parler de lécherie;
Ceste est pute, *ceste* se farde,
 Et *ceste* folement se garde
Ceste est vilaine, *ceste* est fole,
 Et *ceste* nicement parole.
 Male-Bouche, qui riens n'esperne,
 Trueve a chascune quelque herne,

Rose, I, 129.

Again, Froissart, regretting the decline of chivalry, speaks of young knights, who, having won honor on the field of battle, were formerly pointed out in public places by admirers who said:

Vela *cesti* qui mist *ceste* cevaucie ou *ceste* armee sus, et qui ordonna *ceste* bataille si faiticement et le gouverna si sagement . . . , ou qui entreprist *ceste* besogne si hardiement,

Froiss. Chr., II, 9.

4. WEAKENING OF DEMONSTRATIVE FORCE OF *Cist*, AND INTRODUCTION OF STRENGTHENING *-ci*, *là*.

In an endeavor to give examples of all those groups in which *cist* has a demonstrative force, I have cited thus far in the discussion of my subject only such sentences as contain the simple unaugmented form. The nature of the question under consideration has precluded the possibility of using as illustrations of *cist* with demonstrative value any of the forms combined with *ci* and *là* (with which we are familiar in later French), for the mere presence of the strengthening particles is an indication that the original, inherent Latin force of the pronoun is weakened. Otherwise *ci* would be superfluous, and *là* in direct contradiction to the idea of nearness expressed by *cist*. The majority of the examples cited above are from texts that belong to periods prior to the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. If I have made occasional citations

from authors of a later date than this, it is because the weakening of the original demonstrative force was a gradual process, so that, for a considerable time after the use of such forms as *cist-ci* and *cist-là* became frequent, the traditional force of *cist* in itself was still felt. Let us now see what light is thrown on this question of the augmented forms by our examples. Nyrop²⁶ cites the following:

Dont feres vous *chestuy chi* delivrer,

Huon de Bordeaux, 5817

This example, from a text that belongs to the twelfth century, is interesting only as it shows an early occurrence of the combination. The presence of the *chi* here makes the meaning of the demonstrative more specific, that is, it limits the general idea of nearness that *cist* may express to one of local proximity, but signifies no lack of demonstrative force in *chestuy*. The same is true of the particle of the augmented forms found in *Meraugis* and the *Chevaliers as deus espees*, texts of the first third of the thirteenth century.

Ainçois m'avrez mieuz coneü
Et en autres places veü,
Se il vos plest, qu'en *ceste ci*,

Mer., 457-459.

De quoi servent *cist* prison *ci*?,

Ibid., 5654.

Raoul de Houdan employs forms out of *ecce* + *iste* one hundred and fifty-six times in *Meraugis*; of these only in the two cases just cited is the particle *ci* added. In no case does he use *cist* in combination with *là*.

Si m'a si gastee ma terre
Et a mes manoirs les plus biaux
Ke ie n'ai de .IIII. castiaus
De remanant ke *cestui ci*,

Ch. II esp., 4430-4433.

se il uous plaisoit
Et a tous ces cheualiers *ci*

²⁶ *Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française*, 1903, II, 401.

Vous uauroie
 Querre .I. don,

Ibid., 9952-9955.

In the *Chevaliers as deus espees* the combination of *cist* with *ci* is used four times; the simple forms occur one hundred and fifty-four times. In no case is *cist* combined with *là*.

In the other texts of the thirteenth century, even in those of the last part, there is no perceptible increase in the frequency of the strengthened forms. They do not occur in either of the two parts of the *Rose*, nor in Rutebeuf, nor in the *Livre des Métiers*. Joinville (1224-1319) did not employ them, at least in his *Histoire de St. Louis*, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century. I do not wish to imply that *cist-ci*, and even *cist-là*, may not be encountered sporadically in other texts of the thirteenth century, but the proportion of augmented to simple forms would probably be no greater in any of them than it is in *Meraugis* and the *Chevaliers as deus espees*. Furthermore, *cist-ci* expresses at this epoch no idea that could not have been given equally well by the corresponding unaugmented form. In view of these facts, I conclude that the simple *cist* was sufficient adequately to express the concept of nearness to the speaker throughout the whole strictly Old French period, that is, from the time of the earliest monuments down to a date corresponding roughly with that of the coming of the first Valois king.

When we come to Froissart (1337-1410), however, we find a noticeable increase in the use of the augmented forms. From many cases in which the combination of *cist* with *ci* occurs, I cite the following:

Car par une nuyt de Saint-Nicolas en yver l'an de grâce mil CCCLXII.
 le conte de Foïs prinst assés du Mont-de-Marsen en bataille le conte
 Jehan d'Armeignach, l'aieul de *cestuy icy*,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 32.

j'en parle pour tant que messire Garsis du chastel, ung moult vail-
 lant chevalier de *ce païs-icy* . . . estoit alé querre le duc d'Angou,

Ibid., XI, 41.

meteray un tel trouble entre *ceste ville chi* et le conte que coustera
 cent mille vies,

Ibid., IX, 169.

On the other hand, I have found cases in which the same author writes *cist* in combination with *là*, which shows clearly that *cist* was assuming in the fourteenth century merely a neutral force as regards the expression of any relation of nearness or remoteness. The incongruity of *cist*, originally "this here" + *là*, "there," was not felt; *cist* in such combinations as this was rather determinative than demonstrative, and the essential pointing-out force of *cist-là* lay in the particle.

le conte de Foïs prinst . . . le conte Jehan d'Armeignach . . . et en rechupt en deniers tous appareilliés pour dix fois cent mille frans seulement de *cest* prinse *là*,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 32.

Adont je demanday a messire Espang de Lyon:

"Et ce messire Rogier d'Espagne, que estoit-il a messire Charles d'Espagne . . . ?" Lors me respondi . . . : "Ce n'est pas mie de ces Espaignols-*là*,

Ibid., XI, 39.

Il n'est esbanois qui ne passe.

De *cesti là* nous partesins,

Froiss. P., Esp. A., 1127-1128.

If we judge by examples taken from representative passages, the proportion of simple to augmented forms of *cist* in Froissart is about as 25 to 1. The same proportion holds for the works of Christine de Pisan (1363-1431).

In the fifteenth century we meet no new features of special importance with reference to the loss of the demonstrative value of the pronoun. More numerous examples of *cist* in combination with *ci* and *là* than in the texts of the fourteenth century indicate that the inherent force of the simple form was already a matter of tradition.

Cestuy cy y vient de travers.

Et l'autre est venu par deriere,

R. G. S., 25, 133-134.

Vrayment *ceste cy* est moye,

Ch. XVS., 60, 30.

Car j'ay plus belle matiere de le faire que *cette-cy* n'est,

XV Joies, 163.

Mais en *ce* debat *cy* nous sommes,

Villon, 83, 1467.

L'aulture est filz . . .
Cestuy la est mon amy,

Ch. XVS., 99, 24.

Item, à maistre Andry Courault,
 Les Contreditz Franc-Gontier mande:
 Quant du Tirant seant en hault,
 A *cestuy là* riens ne demande,

Villon, 82, 1457-1460.

Je y ay esté *ce temps là* avec le roy Loys,

Com., 51.

et si est presque impossible que beaucoup de grans personnages ensemble et de semblable estat se puissent longuement entretenir, sinon qu'il y ait chief par dessus tous: et ce seroit besoing que *cestui là* fust sage et bien estimé,

Ibid., 81.

In connection with the question of the weakening of the original demonstrative force of *cist*, as shown by the presence of the particles *ci* and *là* in later Old French, it is interesting to note that not until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were forms out of *ecce* + *iste* used with any degree of frequency as determinative qualifiers.²⁷

²⁷ See *infra*, pp. 73-79.

CHAPTER II.

DEMONSTRATIVE FORCE OF *CIL*.

1. *Cil* = TEMPORAL REMOTENESS.

Cil, expressing the concept of remoteness,²⁸ is used with demonstrative force in Old French in expressions of time or situation other than the present. The point of view is that of the writer or speaker.

E Saül e li suen alèrent d'une part del munt, e David e li suen del
altre part, si que David despèrad que à *cele* feiz eschapast,

L. Rois, I, XXIII.

A *cele* foiz ne se porent acorder,

Villeh., 11.

In connection with the words *time* (*tempus*), *hour*, *day*, *night*, *week*, *season*, etc.

Quant infans fud donc a *ciels* temps
Al rei lo duistrent soi parent,

Meyer Rec., 194, 13-14.

Tuit esteient Normant a *cel* tens apelé,

Rou, II, 432.

Dis e noef anz fu reis, a *cel* terme murut,

Ibid., *Chronique ascendante*, 135.

En *cel* cuntemple, fud une cité Sylo,

L. Rois, I, I.

en *icel* termine,

Villeh., 392.

A *cel*²⁹ ure li Philistien firent lur ban,

L. Rois, I, XXVIII.

Que que il parloient einzi,
Li rois fors de la chanbre issi,
Ou il ot fet longue demore,
Que dormi ot jusqu'a *cele* ore,

Ch. lyon, 649-652.

²⁸ For the force of *ille*, the Latin prototype of *cil*, see Gildersleeve-Lodge, p. 192.

²⁹ Latin: in diebus illis.

en icele³⁰ hore,

Dial. Gr., 18, 22.

il vint devant la porte et fist une grande escarmouche. A celle propre heure chevauchoit sur le pays le seneschal de Thoulouse,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 28.

E poro fut presentede Maximilien
Chi rex eret a cels dis sovre pagiens,

Meyer Rec., 193, 11-12.

Paschas furent in eps cel di,

Ibid., 195, 80.

Cel jorn i out cent mil lairmes ploredes,

Alex., CXIX.

Nanteis a cel iur aueit nun,

Rou., I, 396.

Cel jur meisme ainz relevee
fu la dame el vergier alee,

M. Fce., 15, 261-262.

Mes sire Yvains cele nuit ot
Mout buen ostel,

Ch. lyon, 791-792.

Et cil cheualiers por uoir fu
Gaus, li fils le roi de Norual,
Uns des mellors, ki sor cheual
En cel ior en sante montast,

Ch. II esp., 10842-10845.

Et dist l'on que nous estiens trestuit perdu dès celle journée,

Joinv., 236.

Tout celle semaine fumes en feste et en quarole,

Ibid., 110.

C'est Douls Regars. Celle saison
Apoursievoit d'Amors la chace,

Froiss. P., I, 28.

Examples similar to those just cited, in which we have a word expressing time in combination with a form of *cil* referring to a more or less distant past, abound in Old French texts.³¹

³⁰ Latin: in ea hora.

³¹ Compare among others:

Meyer Rec., 194, 15; 195, 32.

Alex., XXVIII.

Rol., 664.

Rou., I, 464; II, 432; II, 579; II, 808.

L. Rois, IV, VIII.

Ch. lyon, 42, 213.

M. Fce., 6, 27; 7, 55.

In this connection are to be noted several examples in which the definite article with demonstrative force stands instead of *cil*. In all such cases that I have found, the accompanying noun is either the word "jour" or "nuit."

Onques en Rome nen out si grant leticie
Come out *le* jorn as povres ed as riches,

Alex., CVIII.

Unz des serjanz Saül fud *al*³² jur al tabernacle,

L. Rois, I, XXI.

David s'en parti d'iloc e fuid *al*³³ jur le rei Saül,

Ibid., I, XXI.

E bien sout tut li poples *al*³⁴ jur que morz n'i fud Abner par le rei,

Ibid., II, III.

Quant li baron orent *la*³⁵ nuit soupé,

Am. et Am., 1153.

Qu'el les ot *le* jor coneüz
As cous doner et recevoir
Que ce furent li dui por voir
Qui mieuz le firent en l'estor,
Et qui plus li plorent *le* jor,

Mer., 390-394.

Et Kex serui *le* iour as tables,

Ch. II esp., 123.

Before leaving the consideration of cases dealing with forms of *cil* expressing temporal remoteness in connection with actual words of time and referring to a past situation, attention should be called to a sentence in the *Histoire de St. Louis*, § 433. St. Louis had called together the knights, who were with him in the East, in order to obtain their opinion in regard to the advisability of returning to France. The majority of them counselled him to return. Joinville, however, was of the

Dial. Gr., 10, 24; 11, 25; 17, 9; 20, 10; 21, 9; 23, 13.

Joinv., 102, 125, 201, 206, 237, 247, 276, 296, 515, 520, 521, 558, 563, 617, 618.

Froiss. Chr., XI, 37; XI, 67.

³² Latin: in die illa.

³³ Latin: in die illa.

³⁴ Latin: in die illa.

³⁵ Compare *Am. et Am.*, 1639, 1644.

opinion that Louis ought to remain where he was. The king dismissed the council, asking for a week's time in which to arrive at a conclusion. Some moments later he came to Joinville:

Or soiés touz aises, dist-il, car je vous sai mout bon grei de ce que vous m'avez loei; mais ne le dites à nullui toute *celle* semaine.

The king is evidently referring to the week that has just begun, so that there is every reason why we should have *ceste* in this place instead of *celle*.³⁶

We have now to consider another large group of examples, in which *cil*, although it is not used in connection with actual words of time, marks none the less temporal remoteness. Attention has already been called to the change of view-point, by which an author transfers himself from his own *milieu* to the *milieu* of the events under consideration.³⁷ There results from this change of view-point a treatment of the subject-matter as though it were in immediate proximity to the writer in time and place. Under such conditions one readily understands the use of verb forms in the present tense and of forms of *cist*, the pronoun of nearness. This manner of regarding certain passages of his narrative was frequent with the Old French writer. It was not, however, the regular procedure on

³⁶ The careful uniform distinction that Joinville makes between *cist* (= this . . . near) and *cil* (= that . . . remote) leads me to question the correctness of de Wailly's reading of "*celle* semaine" in this passage. If *celle* is the correct reading of the manuscripts, there can be only one explanation of its use here. Joinville, writing some years after the episode in question happened, forgot for the instant that he was citing the king's own words in this passage, and was led to write *celle* by a momentary conception of the remoteness of the event. The king's own words were: mais ne le dites à nullui toute *ceste* semaine. Joinville had in mind: Li rois me dist que ne le diroie à nullui toute *celle* semaine. Compare another possible example of the confusion of direct and indirect discourse, affecting the choice of the demonstrative, in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, 513: Puis la [pelote] larrai aller tres par mi *cel* palais. William of Orange, who is "gabbing" must have said *cest* palais, since he is in the palace itself at the time.

³⁷ See *supra*, p. 13-16.

his part. More often he looked upon the events he was describing as something historical, as having happened at a period more or less prior to his own time. From the latter point of view, the action is naturally expressed by verb forms in past tenses, and the persons or things that are referred to in the action are designated by forms of *cil*. The pronoun thus used by a writer in narrative that is historical from his own point of view might be designated in general the *historical cil*.³⁸ As Old French literature is mainly of a narrative nature examples of this *historical cil* are very numerous.

Ad une spede li roveret tolir lo chief.
La domnizelle *celle* kose non contredist,

Meyer Rec., 194, 22-23.

Li chanceliers, cui li metiers en eret,
Cil list la chartre,

Alex., LXXVI.

Li reis fait en sa chambre aconduire sa fille;
Portendue est trestote de palies et cortines.
Cele out la charn tant blanche come flor en espine,

Karls R., 705-707.

This example, which is a typical one, shows the facility with which Old French authors wrote, now as eye-witnesses, now as historians.

Tuz premerains len respunt Falsarons,
Icil ert frere al rei Marsiliun,

Rol., 879-880.

E la furent treiz des fiz Sarvie: Joab e Abisaï e Asael. E *cil* Asael
fud si delivres del pied e si ignels cume uns cheverols,

L. Rois, II, II.

En l'espeisse d'un grant buissun
vit une bisse od sun foün.
Tute fu blanche *cele* beste,

M. Fce., 8, 89-92.

et des chevaliers, fu li uns Johans de Friaize et Roberz de Bove. Et
cil jurerent sor sains loialemente que . . . ,

Villeh., 105.

³⁸ This term might be applied with equal propriety to the forms of *cil* in the examples on pp. 26-27 in which the author uses the pronoun of remoteness to refer to a past time.

La nes u Nicolete estoit estoit le roi de Cartage, et *cil* estoit ses peres,
Auc., 36, 2.

La fëauté
 Li font de bone volenté
 Trestuit, fors Melianz de Liz.
Cil la jura trop a enviz,

Mer., 5562-5564.

Une autre en i ot apelée
 Franchise; *cele* iert empenée
 De Valor et de Cortoisie,

Rose, I, 31.

Haubanier furent ancienement establi a un mui de vin paier. Et
 puis mist il bons rois Phelippe *cel* mui de vin a VIs de parisis,
L. Mest., I, VIII.

Li droit aus clers firent la cort
 Quar *cil* i firent lor voloir,

Ruteb., 79, 56-57.

il avoit changié le commendeour dou palais . . . et *cil* me rendi mes
 deniers,

Joinv., 414.

En tel estat que vous oyés le conte de Foiz vivoit. Et quant de sa
 chambre a mye nuit venoit pour souper en sa salle, devant luy avoit
 douze torches alumées que douze varlets portoient, et *icelles* douze
 torces tenues estoient devant sa table,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 87.

Par semblant fu fort et durable
 Si sembla bien femme honnorable,
 Quoie, atrempée et de grant sens
 Et maistresse de tous ses sens
Celle dame, ce me sembla,

C. Pis. L. E., 471-475.

Examples of the *historical cil* abound.³⁹

³⁹ See for further examples:

Meyer Rec., 194, 11; 195, 19; 195, 25; 195, 43; 195, 49; 195, 55-56;
 195, 56; 195, 65; 195, 79; 196, 101; 196, 105-106; 196, 148; 196,
 149; 197, 179; 197, 197; 197, 205; 198, 209-210; 198, 205.

Alex., VIII, XXXV, XXXVII, XLVII, LVI, LXXVI, C, CVI, CXXIII.
Karls R., 123.

Rol., 887, 1214, 1998, 2008, 2094, 2283, 2745.

Rou., I, 45; I, 53; I, 200; I, 345; I 520; II, 30; II, 66; II, 66;
 II, 152; II, 255; II, 556; II, 574; II, 840; II, 1135; II, 1272; II,
 1553; II, 1187; II, 2148; II, 3652; II, 3654; III, 603; III, 608;
 Chronique ascendante, 31, 138, 232.

L. Rois, I, IX; II, IV; II, XI; III, III; III, IV; III, VII; III, IX;
 IV, XX.

Lastly, the demonstrative force of *cil* expressing temporal remoteness is further seen in the following group of examples. These examples differ from those already cited above in this chapter in that they involve a situation, not of past, but of future, time.

E dunc dist li Sires a Samuel: Un ovre frai en Israel, e tele serra
ke cornerunt li les orilles à celui qui l'orrad. En *cel* jur susciterai
encuntre Hély tuit ço que jo ai parlé sur lui e sur sa maignée,

L. Rois, I, III.

De m'amor seroiz maz et haves,
Se vos n'estes a *icel* jor
Ceanz,

Ch. lyon, 2576-2578.

Se m'amie m'eust forfait,
U le cuer de mon ventre trait,
Por que un mot peusce parler,

M. Fec., 14, 224; 14, 243.

Fa., XLIII, 21; LXXXIII, 14.

Ch. lyon, 1060, 1101, 1409, 2441, 2699, 2832, 3256, 3926.

Dial. Gr., 6, 25; 8, 17; 9, 2; 9, 9; 9, 15; 9, 19; 10, 13; 10, 22; 11, 1; 11, 17; 12, 23; 13, 11; 14, 4; 15, 4; 16, 11; 17, 1; 18, 16; 18, 24; 19, 4; 19, 5; 19, 13; 19, 16; 19, 18; 20, 4; 20, 20; 21, 20; 21, 24; 22, 8; 22, 13; 22, 25; 25, 13; 29, 8; 31, 17; 32, 1; 32, 3; 34, 1; 34, 5; 34, 9; 38, 1; 42, 13; 43, 20-21; 45, 15; 49, 10; 48, 4; 55, 8; 57, 17; 59, 20.

Villeh., 1, 3, 48, 51, 70, 85, 99, 114, 135, 141, 151, 152, 153, 165, 172, 220 279, 283, 305, 308, 312.

Auc., 16, 6; 32, 1.

Mer., 5061, 5129.

Ch. II esp., 126, 825, 1276, 1455, 2004, 7361, 7418, 12124.

Rose, I, 2; I, 31; I, 32; I, 39; I, 41; I, 49; I, 54; I, 121; I, 221.

L. Mest., XLVIII, IV; LI, XVI.

Ruteb., 79, 61; 222, 656; 238, 720; 240, 780; 241, 886.

Joinv., 74, 95, 98, 103, 158, 194, 199, 200, 226, 246, 257, 261, 267, 270, 275, 276, 282, 291, 313, 354, 367, 424, 434, 439, 468, 477, 483, 486, 490, 498, 550, 551, 564, 639, 650, 657, 682, 728.

Froiss. Chr., II, 135; IX, 162; IX, 168; IX, 178; IX, 171; IX, 387; IX, 388; IX, 389; XI, 13; XI, 19; XI, 20; XI, 21; XI, 29; XI, 30; XI, 38; XI, 43; XI, 61; XI, 73; XI, 87; XI, 88; XIV, 164; XIV, 206; XIV, 211.

Froiss. P., I, 7; I, 114; I, 129; I, 132.

C. Pis. L. E., 114, 225, 435, 808, 2463, 2466, 4675, 6169.

C. Pis. P., I, 2; I, 4.

Com., 143.

Cil seroit de li mercier,

Partonopeus de Blois, 4529-4532.

Quant li derreniers jors vendra,
Que Mors son droit des cors prendra:
Car *icel* jor, bien le recors,
Ne nous toldra fors que le cors,

Rose, I, 270.

Car tant est grans ma maladie
Que noient parler ne poroie
Ne ja le voir ne n'en diroie
Tant que je fuisse en *celle* paine,

Froiss. P., I, 21.

Pour ce, quant fait commandement,
Tenir le doit premierement,
Et puis ses subgiez l'ensiwront
Et plus volentiers le feroit,
N'oseront contredire au roy,
Qui meismes tendra *celle* loy,

C. Pis. L. E., 5599-5604.

2. *Cil* = LOCAL REMOTENESS.

Cil, expressing the concept of remoteness, is used with demonstrative force in Old French in expressions of place. Striking examples of this use of *cil* are those in which the demonstrative is used in connection with words meaning *place*, *town*, *city*, *country*, *kingdom*, *land*, *direction*, etc.

Por ço fud apeled *cel* liu li champs des forz en Gabaon,

L. Rois, II, II.

Quant Marie ot parler de Dieu
Por qui ele vint en *cel* leu,

Ruteb., 239, 773-779.

Ad Ostedun, a *cilla* ciu,
Dom sc. L. vai asair,

Meyer Rec., 196, 139-140.

s'il savoit
Rien du roi ki assise avoit
Cele cite,

Ch. II esp., 333-335.

En *celle* citei sourt une fonteinne que l'on appelle Jour,

Joinv., 570.

Or advint depuis que le pere du conte d'Armeignach, . . . s'en vint
eschieller de nuit et prendre la ville de Cassères, et y furent bien deux

cens hommes d'armes, et monstroient que *celle* ville ils vouloient
tenir de puissance,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 32.

Tuit li omne de *ciel* païs
Trestuit a(n) presdrent a venir,

Meyer Rec., 198, 212-213.

Nanteis a cel iur aueit nun
Cele cuntree d'enuirun,

Rou, I, 396-397.

assez estoit renez quant il de *celle* perillouse terre eschapoit,

Joinv., 617.

Pur ço la maidnée lu rei turnad *cele* part,

L. Rois, II, XX.

Les autres nés qui n'erent mie *cela* part guenchies,

Villeh., 125.

Li quens Bougars de Valence oï dire c'on penderoit Aucassin son
anemi si venoit *cele* part,

Auc., 10, 32.

Tantost *cele* part s'adrecierent,

Ch. II esp., 2422.

il se traitrent en *celle* part,

Joinv., 551.

The demonstrative force of *cil* to express local remoteness is also seen in the following examples. Either the context, or some word or phrase in the sentence itself shows that the person or place referred to by a form of *cil* is distant from the speaker. The point of view here is not that of the author as in the preceding examples, but that of one of his characters.

E, dame, ou est *cil* reis? ,

Karls R., 19.

Puis si m'en irai jo la defors en *cel* plain,

Ibid., 472.

Ferons procession la dedenz *cel* enclos,

Ibid., 808.

Envers *icele* gent sunt li nostre frarin,

Rou, II, 2694.

Dist la guaite: Mei est vis que li primiers de ces ki en vient est
Achimas le fiz Sadoch. Respundi li reis: Pruzdum est *cil* e bone
nuvele porte,

L. Rois, II, XVIII.

En mi *cel* pre en un guascel
fussuns ore ambedous mult bel,

Fa., III, 37.

Un païsant voi en *cel* pré couchié,

G'irai véoir, qu'il fait là ne qu'il quiert,

Am. et Am., 947-948.

De la forest an une lande
Antraï et vi une bretesche

.
Cele part ving plus que le pas,

Ch. lyon, 190-194.

Montés sor un ceval, fait il, s'alés selonc *cele* forest esbanoïier,
Auc., 20, 22.

Diex, aie !

Cil ua querre cheualerie,

Icil nouelles me dira,

Ch. II esp., 2756-2757.

Puis qu'il se vuet a nos offerre
Viengne en *cel* val
Sanz compaignie et sanz cheval,

Ruteb., 211, 189-191.

parlés a vostre frere le conte de Poitiers, qui est en *cel* autre vessel,
Joinv., 389.

Bien ensus je voi Franc Voloïr
Qui l'attent à trois levriers voir,
Et à *cel* autre triste voi
Desir et Oïr par ma foi,

Froiss. P., I, 28.

Et le nom te vueil enseignier
Des dames que tu vois baignier,
A quoy ententivement mused:
On les appelle les neuf mused.
Celles gouvernent la fontaine,

C. Pis. L. E., 989-993.

Cil, expressing local relation, occurs sporadically in cases where *cist* might be used quite as correctly:

Aués uous ueu le despit
Ke *cil* cheualier ci fait ont,
Ki deuant moi assis se sont
Ne ne sui de nul arraisniés?,

Ch. II esp., 1932-1935.

Et uous ne saués,
Sire rois, quels gens uous aués
Ci deuant uous. Je uous dirai
Ki il sont,
Cil cheualier sont tuit a moi,

Ibid., 2085-2091.

In both of these examples the context shows that the knights in

question are in immediate proximity to the king. There is, however, no necessary contradiction involved here, as *cil* may refer to persons or objects which are near enough to a given point to lie within the field indicated by *ci*, but which are nevertheless removed from it, however short the distance which separates them from it. *Cist* might have been used in both of these cases. In fact the domain of *cist* and that of *cil* may overlap, according as the speaker measures space about him on a greater or smaller scale.

Numerous other examples containing forms of *cil* with evident demonstrative force in a local sense might be cited.⁴¹

Attention should here be called to a group of examples in which we have forms of *cil* referring to an object that belongs to, or is in the possession of, a person addressed. As the Latin *iste* assumes the rôle of Latin *hic* in Old French, we are not surprised to find that the descendants of *ille* are used to express the concept "that . . . of yours."⁴²

Par mon chief, ço dist Charles, orendreit lem direz,
O jo vos ferai ja *cele* teste colper,

Karls R., 41-42.

⁴¹ Compare among others:

Meyer Rec., 196, 111; 197, 177.

Karls R., 105, 137, 508, 521, 555, 594, 607, 756, 760, 766.

Rol., 272, 1086, 1789, 2603, 2630.

Rou., II, 857; II, 1853; II, 1949; II, 3674.

L. Rois, I, IV; II, XX.

Ch. Lyon, 185, 217, 475, 732, 972, 2061.

M. Fce., 15, 254; 15, 256.

Fa., XVIII, 13.

Am. et Am., 1256.

Dial. Gr., 10, 21; 11, 5; 11, 23; 15, 8; 15, 9; 18, 2; 28, 14; 28, 18;
31, 12; 31, 14; 56, 18.

Mer., 522.

Ch. II esp., 452, 660, 2173, 3716.

Rose, I, 107.

Ruteb., 42, 31; 61, 69; 87, 49; 209, 114; 238, 711.

Joinv., 14, 95, 97, 128, 144, 188, 321, 390, 391, 450, 474, 616.

Froiss. Chr., XI, 16; XI, 21; XI, 39.

C. Pis. L. E., 383, 1770, 1786, 2451.

⁴² Compare use of *cist*, "this . . . of mine," *supra*, p. 10.

Lors l'irai je l'empereor conter,
Si voz fera *celle* teste coper,

Am. et Am., 712-713.

Sire Hardré, nel lairai nel voz die,
Moult voz iert *celle* chiere abaissie;
Ancui aurez *celle* teste tranchie
Et *celle* pance estroée et percie,

Ibid., 1345-1348.

A like use of *cil* occurs in *Am. et Am.*, 753, 1561, 1356, 1362-1363.

Ja dix ne m'aït, fait Aucassins, se vos ne le m'afiés se je ne vous
faé ja *cele* teste voler,

Auc., 10, 77.

Cil vos iert escuz et haubers,

Ch. lyon, 2610.

The lady, who is speaking, refers to a ring which she has just given to Yvain.

A cui manes li honorables Fortuneiz donat aigue benite disanz:
Va mult tost, si gette *celei* sor lo cors del gisant,

Dial. Gr., 47, 9.

Atendés, dist il, tant k'il uiegne
U Gauuains u Gerfles u Tors,
S'a cief n'est trais par lor effors
Cil afares, ne sai ke dire,

Ch. II esp., 1488-1491.

One would expect *cist* here, as the king is speaking to the maiden about an affair which is engrossing the attention of both at the present time, but *cil* is justifiable, if we interpret it as meaning "that . . . of yours."

Et dist: Dame, i'assaieroeie,
S'il uous plaisoit, se ie poroie
Cele espee pour nule rien
Deschaindre,

Ibid., 1365-1368.

Ma volenté m'as assovie
Quant tu m'as aporté *celui*,

Ruteb., 245, 1042-1043.

Context: Zozimas has brought the communion bread and wine

to Marie. He holds them while Marie speaks, hence *celui* means "that . . . which you have in your possession."

Marions.

Sire,

Quelle beste est che sour vo main?

Li chevaliers.

Ch'est uns faucons.

Marions.

Menjue il pain?

Li chevaliers.

Non mais boine char.

Marions.

Chelle beste?

Rob. et Mar., 47-51.

- a. *Cil* used with Historical Present because Speaker maintains attitude of Narrator.

In treating *cist* we have met with that pronoun in many examples in which the author uses it to refer to something just mentioned, and hence momentarily present in his mind.⁴³ Yet, when the narrative is historical, the verb forms that accompany the *cist* of present interest are frequently in a past tense, thus showing that a change of view-point on the part of the author is not effected in regard to the entire thought of the sentence, as in the case of the examples cited in which we have *cist* + a present tense,⁴⁴ but only with reference to the demonstrative. We now have to consider a group of cases in which the conditions are the opposite to those just noted; the author still regards the object he is treating as something belonging to the past, wholly apart from himself, and consequently refers to it by the demonstrative of remoteness, but at the same time he employs verb forms in the present, or resting on a concept of present time. In other words the action is viewed as present, but the object remains in its historical setting.

⁴³ See *supra*, pp. 16-19.

⁴⁴ See *supra*, pp. 13-16.

Deprient Deu que conseil lour en doinst
D'icel saint ome par cui il guariront,

Alex., LXII.

En la terre n'out dame ki sun seigneur tant hée,
ke de *cele* nuuele ne seit tute esfrée[e],

Rou., II, 2080-2081.

Puis si comande a Deu le roi
Et toz les autres fors *celui*,

Ch. lyon., 2778-2779.

Bel les decoit
Cele dou fol et *cil* dou feu,

Mer., 5050-5051.

Cele li oste endementiers
Le hiaume
. si k'a plain le uoit
Cele,

Ch. II esp., 4544-4548.

Si en i ot d'autre moison
Qui se traient à lor soison,
Et s'aprestoient d'espanir,
Et *cil* ne font pas à haïr,

Rose, I, 54.

Et *celle* dame adont s'arreste
Coste l'esponde de mon lit,

C. Pis. L. E., 486-487.

Other examples, in which the use of *cil* may be explained in a similar way might be cited.⁴⁵

Remark.—Attention has now been called to the fact that in many examples of the Old French we have a combination of *cist* with an historical present tense⁴⁶ and of *cil* with a past

⁴⁵ Compare:

Alex., XL, LIV, LXI, LXVI, CIV, CVI, CXIII, CXVIII, CXXI.

Karls R., 358, 790, 821.

Rol., 113, 2457, 2622, 2495, 2498, 2555, 3028, 3941.

Rou., II, 1680.

M. Fce., 8, 80.

Am. et Am., 768, 1531, 3225.

Mer., 130, 2808, 4931, 5055, 5713, 5714.

Ch. II esp., 674, 5756, 6523, 7764.

Froiss. Chr., XI, 63; XI, 64.

C. Pis. L. E., 1773, 1777.

⁴⁶ See *supra*, pp. 13-16.

tense.⁴⁷ I have used the cases in which these respective combinations occur as evidence to prove that the point of view of the Old French writer was, now that of an eye-witness, now that of an historian. Citations from historical narrative have been made, however, in some of which *cist* occurs in combination with a past tense⁴⁸ while others contain *cil* in combination with a present tense.⁴⁹ The question arises as to how far an historical present tense in Old French demanded *cist*, and to what extent a past tense required *cil*. The texts show that the Old French writers followed no sharply defined rule in regard to the above mentioned combinations. In this respect, as in so many others, usage was vacillating during the entire Old French period. There was, however, a tendency toward consistency and stability in the point of view of the author. If the whole body of examples is considered in which he describes events that happened prior to his time, it will be seen that in the majority of cases either *cist* + a present tense is used, or *cil* + a past tense. An idea of the number of cases in which we have a mixing of the two combinations, and of the causes that produced this mixing, may be obtained from a study and a comparison of the four passages that are referred to in the footnotes to this remark.

b. *Cil used because the idea of Local Remoteness prevails over that of Nearness of Interest.*

The pronoun of remoteness is frequently used, like the *cist* of present interest already commented on,⁵⁰ to refer to objects that exist at the present time or prospectively and which are engrossing the attention of an author or speaker at the present time. The choice of *cil* in such cases, rather than

⁴⁷ See *supra*, pp. 29-31.

⁴⁸ See *supra*, pp. 16-19.

⁴⁹ See *supra*, pp. 38-39.

⁵⁰ See *supra*, pp. 16-19.

that of *cist*, is determined by the fact that the idea of local remoteness prevails over that of nearness in interest.

De l'autre part sunt Aleneis;

 De deuers Scitie veisins
 Deuers Norwege plus prochains.
 Ultre est Palu Meotida
 E puis Jeta e Sarmata.
Cels sunt unes genz mult diuerses
 Mult cuntraires et mult peruerses,

Rou, I, 183-190.

Dous boés nus dunez, et tuit cil prophète eslisent e retiengent le un
 e facent *cel* boef tut en pieces colper, e puis busche sur lur altel
 demeine ruer e sur la busche les piesches de *cel* lur boef ordenéement,

L. Rois, III, XVIII.

De teus i a, qui ce qu'il öent
 N'antandent pas et si le löent;
 Et *cil* n'an ont mes que l'öie
 Des que li cuers n'i autant mie,

Ch. lyon, 153-156.

Tels purchace le mal d'altrui
 que *cil* meisme vient sur lui,

Fa., LXVIII, 57-58.

Li pelerin qui vont parmi l'estrée,
Cil sevent où lor tombe est posée,

Am. et Am., 3497-3498.

Il clerc qui sevent l'escriture
 Qu'est jugement et qu'est dreiture
 Qu'est leialté et qu'est mesure
Icil n'ont el mes de Dé cure,

L. Man., 9, 4-7.

Et quant il [le coeur] soi por lo condescendement des pluisors az
 deforienes choses espart, meismes cant il desiret les deuentrienes, a
iceles senz dotance repairet il menres,

Dial. Gr., 6, 5.

Mais en infer voil jou aler; car en infer vont li bel clerc, . . .
 Aveuc *éiax* voil jou aler,

Auc., 6, 35.

Et lors seroient pris doze des plus sages de l'ost des pelerins e douse
 des Venisiens, et *cil* departiroient les fiez et les honors par les homes,

Villeh., 234.

Biax sire, dist il, ce n'ala
 Onques mais si en nulle terre,
 Ke cheualiers qui alast querre
 Autre, por soi combatre a lui,
 N'atendist tant ke ambedui

Fuissent arme, s'il auenist
Ke *cil* desarme le ueist,

Ch. II esp., 2957-2964.

Se li mestre treuve pain meschevé . . . li mestres auroit tout le pain meschevé, et de *celui* feroit li mestres sa volanté et son plaisir,

L. Mest., I, XL.

Estienne Boiliaue, garde de la prevosté de Paris, a toz les bourgeois et a touz les residens de Paris, et a touz ceus qui dedens les bonnes de *cel* meisme lieu venront, as quex ce apartendra, saluz,

Ibid., *Préambule*.

Mais li vrai ami lor demorent
Qui les cuers ont de tex noblesces,
Qu'il n'aiment pas por les richescs,
Ne por nul preu qu'il en atendent;
Cil les secorent et desfendent,

Rose, I, 165.

Je croi bien des preudomes i ait a grant plenté,
Mes *cil* ne sont oï fors tant qu'il ont chanté,

Ruteb., 59, 42.

par quoy grant poour doit avoir que *celle* mezelerie li dure tant comme Diex yert en paradis,

Joinv., 28.

il fault en la ville de Gand que uns ancyëns usage qui jadis fu soit recouvrés et renouvelés: c'est que li blanc cappron soient remis avant, et *cil* blanc cappron aient un chief au quel il se puissent tout retraire et raloyer,

Froiss. Chr., IX, 170.

N'il n'est nulz biens fors de vertus,
Et *ceulx* sont tousdis en vertus,

C. Pis. L. E., 257-258.

Item, à sire Iehan Perdrier,
Riens n'à François, son second frere.
Cilz m'ont tousiours voulu aidier,

Villon, 80, 1406-1408.

c. *Cil* = "the other."⁵¹

We have in Old French a use of *cil* which seems to have escaped the notice of scholars who have treated the syntax of the Old French demonstratives. When in the course of narrative two personages or groups of personages are in play, *cil* is

⁵¹ For a corresponding use of *ille* in Latin, see Lane, *Latin Grammar*, 1899, § 2360.

frequently used, chiefly at the beginning of a sentence or phrase, to designate "the other" as distinguished from the person or group of persons that is the active agent of the preceding sentence or phrase. This function of *cil* is wholly consistent with the inherent force which it has inherited from its Latin etymon, and which has been preserved in Old French. *Cil* = "the other" may stand in contrast to *cist*.

Einsi Gorvain Cadruz avint.
 Et ses compainz qui o lui vint,
 Meraugis qui Gorvain amot
 De lui ravint que, quant il ot
 Un poi a la dame parlé,
 Se *cil* l'ama por sa beauté,
Cist ama tant d'autre partie
 Sa valor et sa cortoisie
 Et ses cointes diz affetiez
 Qu'il fu C. tanz plus enlaciez
 D'amors que ses compainz n'estoit,

Mer., 469-479.

Here the two persons in consideration are Gorvain and Meraugis. In the sentence beginning, "Et ses compainz," the active agent of the principle element is Meraugis; and, as that knight is for the moment the character of present interest, the author refers to him quite properly in line 475 as *cist*. When, however, in line 474 the author has occasion to speak of Gorvain, we see that he uses *cil*, as the friend of Meraugis (Gorvain) is momentarily the more remote in point of interest. *Cil*, here, therefore, refers to "the other;" that is, to Gorvain as opposed to Meraugis, the subject of the principal element of the sentence.⁵²

Sometimes *cil* = "the other" stands in contrast to another

⁵² In this connection the question naturally suggests itself whether *cil* . . . *cist* were employed in Old French, as the modern *celui-là* . . . *celui-ci*, with the force of "the former" . . . "the latter." Sporadic cases are found where the two pronouns standing in the same sentence may be translated by "the former" . . . "the latter," but the Old French knew no established rule in regard to such a correlative use of the demonstratives.

cil, often the *historical cil*; more frequently, however, it forms a pendant to a noun.

Cil s'en ala senz sa dreiture
pur le luier, dunt *cil* prist cure,

Fa., LVI, 31-32.

Einsi fuit cil et *cil* le chace
Si pres, qu'a po qu'il ne l'anbrace,

Ch. lyon, 885-886.

Ad portum, dist il, Veneris
Cent nes ariuent, ceo vus dis.
Gart dunc, dient *cil*, en l'escript
Et *cil* redist ceo qu'il out dit,

Rou., I, 510-513.

Cel son serjant at a sei apelet.
"Quier mei, bels fredre, ed enque e parchemin
Ed une pene, ço pri, toue mercit."
Cil li aportet, receit les Alexis,

Alex., LVI-LVII.

Charlemaignes l'en rent amistez et saluz.
Cil [li patriarches] li fist apporter et li reis les reçut,

Karls R., 190-191.

Sil cumandat as cous de sa maisun,
Tut le plus maistre en apelet Besgun:
.
Cil le receit,

Rol., 1817-1821.

Respundi li reis: Quel busuin as a faire? *Cele* respundi: ,
L. Rois, II, XIV.

Sun vaslet apela avant.
Amis, fait il, va tost poignant!
Fai mes compaignuns returner;
Kar je voldrai a els parler.
Cil point avant, e il remaint,

M. Fce., 10, 133-137.

Tel chose li cunseille a faire
dunt *cil* ne puet a nul chief traire,

Fa., XII, 33-34.

Maintenant Lunete la leisse:
Cele retorne, et *cele* an va,

Ch. lyon, 5008-5009.

Un sien filluel a devant lui mandé,
Et *cil* i vint,

Am. et Am., 1608-1609.

et trova son seignor le conte Tibaut malade et deshaitié; et si fu mult liez de sa venue. Et quant *cil* li ot contée la novele . . . si fu liez,

Villeh., 35.

troverent Libertin gisant en orison. A cui quant il disoient: Lieve
sus, pren ton cheval! *icil* respondit: ,

Dial. Gr., 11, 19.

Ensemble o lui est venuz
Uns suens compainz, Gervain Cadruz,
Qui mout l'amoit et *celui* lui,

Mer., 351-353.

Cil as .II. espees a tant
S'en part et prent a cheuaucier,
Cil se metent au repairier,

Ch. II esp., 1800-1802.

The chevalier, on the one hand, and four other knights, on the other, are in question here.

Il me grèvera moult forment.
Je, qui de ce ne soi noient,
Vois par le vergier à délivre
Et *cil* pensa bien moi sivre,

Rose, I, 44.

Voz povre voisins soz marchiez,
Aussi bien a leanz marchiez
Vendre voz blez et vostre aumaille
Com *cele* autre povre pietaille,

Ruteb., 31, 159-162.

Rutebeuf is taking the young squires to task for not doing their duties as knights, and for doing things unworthy of them. The squires, on the one hand, and the common people, on the other, are in question here, and we actually have the word *autre* expressed with the *cele*.

uns Sarrazins li commença à escrier . . . que il jousteroit à li se
il vouloit; et *cil* li dist que si feroit-il volentiers,

Joinv., 548.

et là fut sur le point d'estre desconfit Ernaulton de Sainte Coulombe
. . . d'un escuier de ce país que l'on appelle Guillonnet de Salenges
et l'avoit *celluy* mené jusques a la grosse alainne,

Froiss., *Chr.*, XI, 60.

Other examples of *cil* = "the other" might be cited.⁵³

⁵³ In addition to the examples noted above compare:

Alex., XXVI, XXXV, XXXVII, LXV, LXXI, CVI.

Karls R., 12, 280, 331, 716, 725.

3. *Cil* . . . *Cil* INDEFINITE.

Cil, followed by another *cil*, is used in certain cases where it is difficult to see in it anything but an indefinite value, equivalent to the English "one . . . another," "some . . . others."⁵⁴ There is a similar use of *cist*.⁵⁵

Li reis me cumandad un afaire, e si me dist que nuls ne seust pur
quei il m'ad enveied, e quel cumandement m'ad duned; pur ço ai dit
as miens que *cil* alast là e *cil* là.⁵⁶

L. Rois. I, XXI.

Sire, mout dites que vaillanz!
Vostre pooirs sera mout granz.
Nos iron tuit, nus qui vos aint
N'i remaingra; qui ci remaint,
Honiz soit il! Vendrez i vos?
Font *cil* a ceus,

Mer., 5179-5184.

Rou. I, 564, 642; II, 34, 48, 64, 100, 163, 202, 306, 1250, 1757, 1839,
3276.

L. Rois. I, VI; IV, IV; IV, VI.

M. Fce., 16, 292.

Fa., VII, 10; XII, 37; XXV, 33; XXXVII, 39; LXV, 59.

Ch. lyon. 891, 954, 969, 1053, 1339, 1508, 2409, 2842, 2976, 3111,
4835-4836, 4970-4974, 5374, 5934, 6357-6362.

Am. et Am., 177.

Villeh., 66, 116, 178, 299, 323.

Dial. Gr., 14, 11; 14, 13; 15, 16; 21, 23.

Auc., 18, 22; 22, 15; 23, 26-30.

Mer., 668, 668-673, 679-685, 755, 1972-1979, 3325, 4486, 4620.

Ch. II esp., 214, 269, 294, 421, 813, 836, 1086, 1378, 1414, 1548, 1659,
2024, 2056, 2658, 2680, 2778, 2928, 2946, 3003, 3017, 3044, 3107,
3120, 3446, 3476, 3480, 3489, 3520, 3526, 3610, 3614, 3657, 3658,
3751, 3854, 3943, 3960, 3964, 4000, 4046, 4562, 5605, 6289, 6534-
6535, 7625, 7627, 11382, 11384, 11574.

Rose. I, 43, 48, 158, 190, 207, 271, 281.

Ruteb., 66, 126; 79, 37; 236, 609; 239, 751; 239, 756; 239, 776; 240,
808; 240, 814; 241, 825; 241, 827; 241, 830; 243, 919; 244, 964;
245, 1023; 246, 1075.

Joinv., 285, 494, 650.

Froiss. Chr., XIV, 207; XIV, 208.

⁵⁴ Compare Gildersleeve-Lodge, p. 193, Remark 2.

⁵⁵ Compare *supra*, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁶ Latin: nam et pueris condixi in illum et illum locum.

4. *Cil* . . . *Cele* IN EXPRESSIONS OF TOTALITY.

Forms of *cil*, repeated in the masculine and feminine genders, seem to be employed in some cases to emphasize the idea of the totality of mankind or of the members of a class of persons. (Compare the English expression, "man, woman and child.")

Vous ne autres ne le saués,
Non sot onques ne *cil* ne *cele*,

Ch. II esp., 2848-2849.

Droituriere sui droit parmi
Tous *ceuls* aussi et toutes *celles*,
Soient dames ou damoiselles,

Froiss. P., I, 17.

Qui d'amor veut joir sans faille
Fruit i doit querre et *cil* et *cele*,
Quel qu'ele soit, dame ou pucele,

Rose, I, 153.

5. *Cil* WEAKENED TO PERSONAL PRONOUN.

The question has perhaps already presented itself to those who have examined the examples in the section treating of *cil* = "the other" as to whether we were not dealing there with a *cil* that approaches in force the personal pronoun *il*. The question of confusion between the demonstrative and the personal pronoun is furthermore natural from the fact that *cil* and *il* have a common etymon in the Latin *ille*, which might readily have led to syntactical confusion of the two words in French. Again, it will be seen later that *il* is sometimes used for *cil* in sentences that involve a determinative construction.⁵⁷ Add to this that *cil* adjective is often equivalent to *le*, the definite article, in Old French.⁵⁸ The question here is, then: Is the demonstrative form of *cil* ever equivalent to the personal pronoun *il* in Old French? The following series of representative examples will throw some light on this subject.

⁵⁷ See *infra*, pp. 84-85.

⁵⁸ See *infra*, pp. 101-103.

(1)

Oliviers gist el lit lez la fille le rei,
 Devers sei l'at tornet, si la baisat treis feiz,
Icele fut bien cointe, et *il* dist que corteis,

Karls R., 714-716.

(2)

Mais l'uns de l'autre ne set mot,
 Ne Illes nel set de *celi*;
 Ne Galerons que *cil* aint *li*;
 Car *cele* est si tres haute cose
 Que *cil* descouvrir ne *li* ose,
 N'*ele* ne *li* discoverroit
 Premièrement por rien qui soit,

Ille, 1216-1222.

(3)

"Ne vos puis veoir con je suel."

 Et *cele* entent bien qu'*il* veut dire,

Ibid., 1863-1866.

(4)

Lanval, ki mult fu enseigniez,
 Cuntre *eles* s'est levez en piez.
Celes l'unt primes salué,

M. Fce., 88, 67-69.

(5a)

"Di va," fet el, "nel me celer!
 Vuelt il mei par amurs amer?"
Il li respunt: "Ceo m'est a vis,"

Ibid., 199, 419-421.

(5b)

"Nel receut il pur druërie?
 Puet cel estre, jeo sui traïe?"
Cil li a dit: "Par fei, ne sai,"

Ibid., 200, 431-433.

(6)

La damoisele, c'est la voire,
 Estoit amie a un provoire.
 Molt l'amoit *cil* et *ele lui*,

Ruteb., 123, 19-21.

(7)

Cil qui se jut ne pot tere:
 "Dame orde

 Bien pert que por fol me tenez."
Cele se tut et *cil* s'esfroie,

Ibid., 125, 120-125.

(8)

Cele se tut, si ne dist mot.

Quant *cil* oit qu'*el* ne se desfent,
Par un petit d'iror ne fent,

Ibid., 126, 130-132.

(9)

Cil li done et *ele* l'usa,⁵⁹

Ibid., 246, 1075.

(10)

S'*el* n'obéist, *cil* se corroce,
Et *la* lédenge; et s'*ele* groce,
Estes-le-vous en ire mis,

Rose, I, 315.

(11)

Sire, dist-*ele*, o moi l'amain,
Si vous pri qu'il ne vous desplèse.
Maint honor m'a fait et maint èse.
Cil me soustient, *cil* me conforte,
S'*il* ne fust, de fain fusse morte,

Ibid., I, 349.

(12)

Et por ce *le* blasme et despit
C'onques, ce dist, *cil* ne l'ot chiere,

Ibid., I, 356.

(13)

Si qu'il cuit que *cele* un gré prengne
Ce qu'*el* ne prise une chastengne,

Ibid., II, 115.

(14)

Lors escrit *cil*, et *cele* dite,⁶⁰

Ibid., II, 276.

(15)

Pymalions lors s'agenoille,
Qui de lermes sa face moille,
Son gage tent, si *li* amende;
Mais *el* n'a cure de s'amende,
Car *el* n'entent riens, ne ne sent,
Ne de *li* ne de son présent,
Si que *cil* crient perdre sa paine,

Ibid., II, 323.

(16)

Un [usage] en y ot: tel fu que quant un homme
En fais d'armes s'en aloit en voyage,

⁵⁹ In this example, which is from the *Vie de Sainte Marie l'Egyptienne*, *cil* refers to Zozimas, the hermit, who has just brought and presented the sacrament, and *ele* to Marie.

⁶⁰ *Cil* refers to Genius, writing under the dictation of Dame Nature, who has just finished a series of recommendations.

S'il faisoit la aucun beau vasselage,
Après, quant ert a Romme retourné,
Cellui estoit, pour pris de son bernage,
Digne d'estre de lorier couronné,

C. Pis. P. I, 2, 3-8.

(17)

C'est fort chose qu'une nef se conduise
Es fortunes de mer, a tout par *elle*,
Sanz maronnier ou patron qui la duise,
Et le voile soit au vent qui ventelle;
Se sauvement a bon port tourne *celle*,
En verité c'est chose aventureuse,

Ibid., I, 14, 1-6.

(18)

Je leurs respons que ceulz qui ce escripent
En leurs livres, je trouve qu'ilz ne quistrent
En leurs vies fors femmes decepvoir;
N'en pouoient *yceulx* assez avoir,

Ibid., II, 11, 313-316.

(19)

De dames veismes grant route
Encontre de nous venir.
Par gracieux maintenir,
Si nous saluerent *celles*;
Nous tournames tost vers *elles*,

Ibid., III, 63, 134-137.

(20)

Car moult chierement *l'amoye*;
Et adonc *cellui* larmoye,
Quant si me voit empirié;
Si l'ay près de moy tirié
Et l'acol par amour chiere
Et *il* me dist: "Dieux! quel chiere
Faites vous?"

Ibid., III, 110, 1666-1675.

Now, in each of the above citations it will be seen that there is a form of *cil* standing in analogous relation to a form of *il*. The two words are interchangeable, at least in the nominative case, as is shown by individual examples or by a comparison of examples. For instance, in 2 it would be possible to substitute *cele* for *ele* in the sixth line, if the meter would allow it, and *ele* for *cele* in the fourth line. In 5a and 5b, where the situation is identical, Marie de France uses, now *il*, now *cil*. In 11 there seems to be no difference in force

between the two *cils* of the fourth line and the *il* of the fifth, the latter being used here again on account of the exigencies of the meter. It might be objected that the two *cils* of the fourth line have a demonstrative force, and mean *celui-là*, but it is impossible to see any difference, as far as force is concerned, between them and the personal pronoun *il* of the first line. In 7 and 9 the conditions are the same, yet in the first we have the two personages indicated by *cele . . . cil*, and in the second by *cil . . . ele*. In 16 the subject of the sentence, *un homme*, is repeated first by *il*, and then by *cellui*. 18 presents another example of the same thing. The fact, then, seems to be established that *cil* was used in certain cases in Old French as the exact equivalent of *il*.

There is a distinction to be made between *cil* = *il* and *cil* = "the other," although the two constructions are very closely allied. The latter may be used only when there is a change in the agent of two actions that follow one upon the other;⁶¹ the use of the former does not necessarily depend on such a change of agent, as is shown by 16, 17, and 18 above, and by the following additional examples:

Illes le fiert par grant angoisse;
Car *cil* l'ataint a descovert,
Le costé li a entrovert,⁶²

Ille, 1112-1114.

Assez ont parlé ambedui,
Cil l'a esgardée et el lui,

Ruteb., 241, 865-866.

Nous passasmes en Ethiope,
Qui a si tres haulte la crope
Qu'aucun poete maintenoit
Que *celle* le ciel soustenoit,

C. Pis. L. E., 1457-1460.

So far, in the treatment of *cil* = *il*, the examples, with one exception (2), that have been cited contain only forms of *cil* as conjunctive subjects of verbs. The use of *cil* for *il* was,

⁶¹ Compare *supra*, pp. 42-45.

⁶² The *cil* cannot refer to anyone but Ille in this sentence.

however, not restricted to this position. In the following example, for instance, we have a *cil* = *eux*, the nominative disjunctive personal pronoun:

Li dus si cointement le fait
Que bien le cuident tot si home
Qu'aut a .S. Jake et *cil* a Rome,

Ille, 5523-5525.

Note also the following, in which occur oblique forms of *cil* — either as object of a verb or of a preposition — that are equivalent in force to corresponding forms of the personal pronoun:

Ice k'*ele* est cortoise et bele
Plus que ne soit el mont pucele
Fait *celui* a s'amor entendre
Et si tres haute amor emprendre.
Et tout içou ra en *celui*
Et ce fait *ele* entendre a lui,

Ille, 902-907.

L'aler gesir tant *li* reproche
Por pou le morcel en la boche
Ne fet *celui* aler gesir,

Ruteb., 124, 69-71.

La furent de par li venu
Petit enfant et povre et nu
Qu'*ele* meisme fist venir;

.
Ne *lor* estoit dure n'amere;
Li enfant l'apeloient mere,
A *cels* aloit ele environ,
Cels metoit ele en son giron,

Ibid., 270, 881-891.

A le pucele vait parler.
A paines qu'il i ose aler.
Mout a grant honte de *celi*:
Crient que n'ait vilené vers *li*,

Ille, 4644-4647.

Un aigle d'or ot desus mis;
de *cel* ne sai dire le pris,⁶³

M. Fce., 89, 87-88.

⁶³ Compare with the above example the following:

Mult anguissusement plurot
e pur l'alme de *li* preiot,

M. Fce., 217, 975-976.

La dameisele respundi
quant le cunseil de *lui* oï,

M. Fce., 198, 365-366.

La font entr'eus lor armonies.

.
N'est riens qui par *celes* ne chant,

Rose, II, 201.

Si s'est alors avertie
D'une dame qui servie
L'ot aucques toute sa vie.
.
. Se elle *la* porroit
Ravoir se vult essayer;
Si escript sans deslaier
Ces lettres ycy a *celle*
Et rot la response d'*elle*,

C. Pis P., III, 160, 3152-3163.

As to the extent of the use of *cil* = *il*, the results of my observations are as follows:

1. At all periods of the Old French *il* was much more commonly employed to express the pronominal idea than was *cil*.

2. *Cil* with the force of a personal pronoun is not encountered often before the middle of the twelfth century. Examples from texts of an earlier date than this in which we have *cil* and *il* standing in parallel construction are not conclusive, as *cil* in such cases may be *cil* = "the other."

3. It is in the *Roman de la Rose*, the writings of Rutebeuf, and other texts of the end of the thirteenth century that *cil* = *il* is found frequently.

4. Christine de Pisan, who writes the language of the upper classes of the second half of the fourteenth century, makes use of *cil* as a personal pronoun, but there seems to be no increase in the frequency of its use over that of the thirteenth century. This condition continues until the end of the Old French period.

Cil and *il* became confused in Old French for two very apparent reasons. In the first place, they were both descended from the Latin *ille*, as already remarked, which made them bear a strong resemblance to each other in their forms. In

the second place, *cil* was used from the time of the earliest texts in the sense of "the other," a meaning from which it is only a short step to "he," "she," or "it." Thus *cil* = "that one" was early used as *cil* = "the other," and finally as *cil* = "he."

6. WEAKENING OF DEMONSTRATIVE FORCE OF *Cil* AND INTRODUCTION OF STRENGTHENING *-ci, là*.

There is evidence that the inherent demonstrative force of *cil* began to weaken in the fourteenth century. Before that epoch, *cil* was sufficient in itself to express the concept of remoteness from the writer or speaker. It will be recalled that parallel conditions were found to exist in regard to *cist*.⁶⁴ The evidence that would point to conclusions in this matter is offered, in the first place, by those cases where the strengthening particles, *ci* and *là*, are joined to the simple *cil*. If *cil* is repeatedly strengthened by *là*, the supposition is that it is no longer sufficient in itself to express the idea of remoteness. And if, on the other hand, *cil* stands in conjunction with *ci*, the particle of nearness, the combination affords incontestable proof that the original demonstrative force no longer attached itself to the pronoun.

Let us now trace the augmented forms of *cil*. As in the case of *cist*, examples from texts of a date prior to the fourteenth century, and in which *cil* strengthened by a particle occurs, will be given, since they are of interest with reference to the origin of the combination. In no one of them, however, does the *là* signify a lack of demonstrative force in the accompanying unaugmented form:

Si s'estut loing cele part *la*,

Ch. lyon, 1957.

As far as I have observed, this is the only instance in the

⁶⁴ See *supra*, pp. 21-25.

Chevalier au lyon, of the occurrence of a form of *cil* in combination with *là*. *Cil* + *ci* is not found in this text.

Vos veez bien *cele* tor *la*
En mi *cele* isle,

Mer., 2955-2956.

En la fin nos entrabatron
Joste la mer en *cel* val *la*,

Ibid., 3246-3247.

Raoul de Houdan employs forms out of *ecce* + *ille* two hundred and eighty-eight times in *Meraugis*; of these only in the two cases just cited is the particle *là* added. In no case does he use *cil* in combination with *ci*.

Et li hermites le uoit bien
Et dist a son uilain: Cha uien!
Si pren *cele* quignie *la*,

Ch. II esp., 3805-3807.

Cil cheualiers *la* m'aatist
De bataille,

Ibid., 4616-4617.

In the *Chevaliers as deus espees* the combination of *cil* with *là* is used only in the two passages just cited; the simple forms occur six hundred and twenty-seven times. In no case is *cil* combined with *ci*.

Other texts of the thirteenth century show no perceptible increase in the frequency of the strengthened forms. They do not occur in either part of the *Rose*, or in Rutebeuf, or in the *Livre des Métiers*. Joinville did not employ them in his *Histoire de St. Louis*, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

When we come to Froissart we see that the augmented forms of *cil* are employed more frequently than they were in the preceding century. A like condition was noted in the section of the present monograph on the weakening of the force of *cist*.⁶⁵ The parallelism, however, which it is possible to observe, in later Old French between the pronoun of nearness

⁶⁵ See *supra*, pp. 21-25.

and the pronoun of remoteness in their loss of original demonstrative force, as shown by the employment of the particles *ci* and *là* in combination with them, cannot be extended beyond the beginning of the fourteenth century. For, whereas Froissart uses forms of *cist* in combination with both *ci* and *là* about once in every twenty-five times that he has occasion to employ the demonstrative out of *ecce* + *iste*, the same author, to judge from representative passages of the *Chronicle*, writes *cil* + *là* in comparatively few places, while *cil* + *ci* is of exceedingly rare occurrence. The proportion of augmented to simple forms of *cil* in Froissart is no greater than 1 to 50. In view of this fact we are led to the conclusion that *cil* in Old French was more tenacious of its original inherent demonstrative force than was *cist*.

il passa Nerbonne qui est la première cité dou royaume de France
à *cel* lés *là*,

Froiss. Chr., VII, 230.

le sire de Coucy, qui est regart souverain de par le roy es marches
de par decha, est ou dit voiage. De lui n'avons garde, ne du duc
de Berry; car *cellui là* se tient a Paris,

Ibid., XIV, 165.

A *celle* fois *ichi*, li Englès nous rueront jus:

Ibid., I, 157.

A *celle* fois *chi*, en auerés-vous raison,

Ibid., II, 230.

In the fifteenth century the augmented forms of *cil* are somewhat more common than in the fourteenth. Yet, even at this epoch, the proportion of augmented to simple forms is so small that we must believe that *cil* still possessed a considerable traditional demonstrative force. To arrive at a date when it was necessary to use *cil-là* in order to express the idea of remoteness, one would have to go beyond the year 1500. The following examples, among others,⁶⁶ of *cil* augmented by a particle have come to my attention in texts of the fifteenth century:

⁶⁶ Compare *Com.*, 25, 39, 65, 100, 115, 117.

Gens envieux,
 Qui sont de guerre curieux
 Et vivent tousjours en murmure,
 Et jamais de paix n'eurent cure,
Ceulx la ont mon gouvernement,

R. G. S., 127, 167-171.

car nous ne occupions point les rivières d'au dessus, qui sont trois,
 c'est assavoir Marne, Yonne et Seine, et plusieurs petites rivières
 qui entrent en *ceulx* là,

Com., 51.

Ilz ont des gouverneurs à qui on parle de leurs affaires, à eulx riens:
 et *ceulx* là disposent de leurs affaires,

Ibid., 62.

Mais c'est grant folie a ceulx qui s'estiment si bons et si saiges,
 que de penser que leur presence peust pacifier si grans princes, et
 si soubstiliz comme estoient *ceulz* cy,

Ibid., 82.

If we had no other proofs of the weakening of the demonstrative force of *cil* in later Old French than those afforded by the presence of the particles *ci* and *là*, in the use of which it has been seen there was only a slight gradual increase in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the contention that there was a weakening at that epoch might with good reason be questioned. There are, however, in Froissart and Christine de Pisan the three following examples that tend to strengthen the probability of the correctness of the contention.

Comment, Aymerigot? Qui vous a mandé, ne fait venir *celle* part?
Froiss. Chr., XIV, 208.

The speaker is here referring to the place in which he actually is at the present time.

en ces lieux
 Dont souverains est li douls dieus
 D'amours li mestres et li sires.
 Ses royaumes et ses empires
 S'estent partout *celle* contrée,

Froiss. P., I, 30.

Plaisance is speaking about the country in which she and Froissart are at the present moment.

Car tout d'amours sera *cilz* miens rommans,⁶⁷

C. Pis. P., II, 51, 53.

Again, it cannot be a matter of mere coincidence that *cil* came to be used so frequently as a personal pronoun in the latter part of the thirteenth century and during the two following centuries.⁶⁸ Its employment for the personal pronoun is directly connected with the relinquishing of its original force.

7. *Cist* AND *Cil* IN JUXTAPOSITION.⁶⁹

I have attempted in the preceding pages of this monograph to classify, in a number of well-defined groups, all the examples found in the texts examined in which *cist* and *cil* have a demonstrative force. The following examples, which contain forms of *cist* and *cil* in juxtaposition and standing often in contrast to each other may serve as still more striking illustrations of the conclusions that I have reached with reference to the demonstrative force of the two pronouns.

Com bone peine, Deus, e com bon servisie
Fist *cil* sainz om en *ceste* mortel vide,

Alex., CXXIII.

The *cil* here is the *historical cil*; the *ceste* needs no comment.

En *icest* siecle nos achat pais e joie,
Ed en *cel* altre la plus durable glorie,

Ibid., CXXV.

Par Deu, go dist l'escolte, *cist* hoem est enragiez!
Onques Deus ne vos doinst *cel* gap a comencier!

Karls R., 528-529.

Cist is employed here because the man is still present near the spy; "the gab," to which the man has just given utterance, is already a thing of the past, hence *cel* is correctly used in referring to it.

⁶⁷ Compare with all those cases in which we have *cist* + *miens*, *supra*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ See *supra*, pp. 47-54.

⁶⁹ Compare *supra*, p. 43, note.

La guaite ki esteit al sumet de la porte vit venir Achimas, si criad al rei ke il vit un sul hume venir. Li reis respondi: Si il vient suls, dunc porte bone nuvele. Cume *cil* aprehad, la guaite vit un altre venir, si criad amunt que uns altres veneit tut suls. Respundi li reis: E *cist* ported bone nuvele,

L. Rois, II, XVIII.

The *cil* is the *historical cil*; the *cist* is that of present interest.

E li prudum chalt pas se escriad e encuentre *cel* altel parlad, si dist: Uns enfès naistrad del lignage David, si aurd num Josias, *cil cez* fals pruveires sur *cest* altel sacrefierad,

Ibid., III, XIII.

The *cel* here is the historical *cel*,⁷⁰ the *cil* is explained by the fact that the idea of local remoteness prevails over that of present interest; the *cez* is determinative in nature,⁷¹ the *cest* is explained by the context of the passage.

Se voz de *ceste* ne voz poez oster,
Je voz ferai *celle* teste coper,

Am. et Am., 752-753.

The *ceste*, used here instead of the more common neuter form out of *ecce* + *hic*, refers to the present situation; *celle*, equivalent to "that . . . of yours," has already been commented on.⁷²

Et quant ie esgarde *cele* chose cui ge ai perdue, si devient *ceste* plus greualz cui ie porte,⁷³

Dial. Gr., 6, 6.

Meliadus dit cest recort
A Meraugis. "Beaus sire, entrez
En *ceste* nef et si passez
En *cele* isle,

Mer., 2934-2937.

This example is an excellent one for illustrating the local

⁷⁰ It is also possible to see in this *cel* its use as a definite article; compare *infra*, pp. 101-103.

⁷¹ See *infra*, pp. 78-79.

⁷² See *supra*, pp. 36-38.

⁷³ Latin: dumque intueor illud quod perdidit, fit hoc gravius quod porto.

demonstrative forces of *cist* and *cil*; the ship is close at hand, the island is some distance away.

Non est, d'autre compas
Est *cist*. *Cil* ert .I. fous, .I. lez,
Cist est uns sages, uns bien fez,
Uns cortois; *cist* ne semble l'autre
Nes qu'escarlante semble fautre,

Ibid., 5680-5684.

Lidoine is speaking of Meraugis (*cist*), whom she has just seen joust, and who, she is told, is the same knight of whom she had been afraid, under other circumstances, at a previous time.

Car sachiés que tex préeschierres,
Combien qu'il as autres profit,
A soi ne fait-il nul profit.
Car bone prédicacion
Vient bien de male entencion
Qui n'a riens à *celi* valu,
Tant face-ele as autres salu;
Car *cil* i prenent bon exemple,
Et *cis* de vaine gloire s'emple,

Rose, I, 170.

The *celi* is used here because the idea of local remoteness prevails over that of present interest. The *cil* is the *cil* = "the other," the two parties in consideration being the preacher, on the one hand, and the hearers, on the other. When, however, in the last line, the author wishes to refer again to the preacher, he uses *cis*, as the latter, who is the active agent of the principal element of the sentence, is momentarily the character of more immediate interest.⁷⁴

As *cist* . . . *cist* and *cil* . . . *cil* are employed in certain passages with very little, if any, demonstrative force, to mean in a general way "one . . . another," "such and such a one,"⁷⁵ so the combination, *cist* . . . *cil*, is encountered not infrequently with the same meaning.

⁷⁴ Compare the example from *Meraugis*, *supra*, p. 43.

⁷⁵ See *supra*, pp. 20-21 and 46.

1. They refer indiscriminately to one and the other of two definite personages already mentioned. *Cist* . . . *cil* in these cases is equivalent to the Modern French "*l'un . . . l'autre*."

Le iugement que Richard fist,
Ne *cil* ne *cist* ne cuntredist,

Rou., III, 465-466.

Cil . . . *cist* refer here to an angel and a devil, who disputed the soul of a monk, drowned while going to a rendez-vous with a certain lady friend.

Chascuns l'escu devant son chief,
Si s'entreviennent au devant.
Ne sai li queus feri avant,
Ne li queus plus ne li queus mains,
Mes les espees de lor mains
Errent et vont plus tost que vent.
Se *cil* li paie, *cist* li rent
Tot cop a cop sanz plus attendre,

Mer., 710-717.

L'Outredotez
Fu par mi les destres costez
Feïst par soi, qu'il ne porroit;
. Meraugis fu
Feruz
. . . Ne sai en quel maniere
Il en garisse; trop seroit
Forz a garir, mes orendroit
Ne le sent il, ne *cil* nel set,
Ne *cist* ne *cil* por mal qu'il ait
Ne s'esmaient, en piez revienent,

Ibid., 4487-4499.

As the first *cil* in this passage is undoubtedly equal to *cil* = "the other," *cist* and the second *cil* may refer discriminately to the two combatants; that is, *cist* to Meraugis, and *cil* to Outredotez. In the light of other similar examples, however, the meaning seems rather to be "*ni l'un ni l'autre*."

Des braz se sont entrebraciez
Par les testes; ilueques sont
Entrapoiïé que riens ne font,
Riens ne dient, ne il n'i a

Celui des .II. qui .I. esta
 Feïst par soi, qu'il ne porroit;
 Que se *cist* n'estoit, *cil* cherroit,

Ibid., 4610-4616.

2. They refer indiscriminately to one and another of several indefinite personages.

Mais il n'orent seignur ne duc ne cheuetaigne
 Pur qui *cist* auant alt, ne pur qui *cil* remaigne,

Rou., II, 794-795.

Di a Joab qu'il ne se déhaite pas, kar diverses sunt les aventures de
 bataille, e ore chiet *cist* e ore li altres,

L. Rois., II, XI.

The translator might have written here, instead of *cist* . . .
li altres, *cist* . . . *cil*.⁷⁶

A tant issirent de leenz
 Li baron, et les dames vienent.
 Veez com cez robes avienent;
 Se *ceste* est bele et *cele* plus,

Mer., 906-909.

Dames i ot plus de .c. pere

 Lors est comenciez tot de bot
 Li murmures et li estris.
 Ça .II., ça .III., ça .V., ça .VI.
 Vont par escoles conseillant.
 Se *ceste* dit son bon avant,
Ceste redit le sien après;
 Et quant *cele* a parlé adés
 L'autre redit greignor reson.
Ceste se test et *cele* non.

Ibid., 916-936.

Lors encontrerent sanz plus dire
 Ceus qui vindrent sor les chevaus.
 Meliadus li seneschaus
 Salue Meraugis avant.
 Lors li vienent tuit au devant,
 Et tuit le saluent ensemble
 Et il eus et a eus s'assemble.
 Einsi se metent el retor
 Et li pueples li vient entor,

⁷⁶ Latin: haec dices Joab: Non te frangat ista res: varius enim eventus est belli; nunc hunc, et nunc illum consumit gladius.

Qui l'esgardent com a merveille.
Se *cist* parole, *cist* conseille
A *cel* autre, et *cil* le regarde.
Mes Meraugis ne se prent garde
De quan qu'il dient.

Ibid., 2908-2921.

Remark. The *Meraugis* of Raoul de Houdan is the most interesting text I have found for the study of the demonstratives in Old French. This fact would seem to indicate that the demonstrative system in the Old French reached the height of its development during the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER III.

DETERMINATIVE FORCE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS IN LATIN AND IN MODERN FRENCH.

In those cases where it is possible, by the aid of a gesture, or by a suggestion arising from the situation, to express a definite concept of relative nearness or remoteness, in place, time, or moral relationship, *cist* and *cil*, when employed under such conditions, possess *per se* a more or less strongly marked demonstrative force. The demonstrative value of the two pronouns constitutes the subject of investigation in the preceding chapters. It will be the purpose of the present section of this dissertation to study what is commonly called by the grammarians the determinative use of *cist* and *cil*; that is, the use of these words, no longer with demonstrative force, but as individualizing determinators, which refer to persons or things that must have a more specific designation than that offered by the demonstratives alone before the thought of the writer or speaker can be adequately expressed. The specific designation of an entity that is determined by one of the demonstratives may be contained in Old French in a following relative clause, a prepositional phrase, an adjective, or an adverb. It may be well to consider, before taking up the study of *cist* and *cil* determinative in Old French, the question of the determinative use of the demonstratives in Latin and in Modern French.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The word, determinative, first employed by Diez, and now generally accepted, to mean a demonstrative that serves to fix more definitely the idea of an entity whose adequate designation is contained in some complementary expression, is convenient, but, strictly speaking, not accurate. Or rather, a technical limitation is assigned to the word, which, as applied to demonstratives, the nature of these pronouns does not warrant. For every demonstrative is in reality determinative of the idea

In Classical Latin the regular, and only, determinative pronoun and adjective is *is*.

Nullae sunt occultiores insidiae quam *ae*, quae latent in simulatione officii; nam *eum*, qui palam est adversarius, facile cavendo vitare possis,

Cic. Verr., 1, 15, 39.

Multa me sollicitant et ex reipublicae tanto motu et ex *iis* periculis, quae mihi ipsi intenduntur et sexcenta sunt,

Cic., Att., 2, 19, 1.

Is is not always expressed with the relative; it may be understood, not only when it would be in the same case as the relative, but sometimes even when it would have been in a different case.⁷⁹

Xerxes . . . praemium proposuit (ei) qui inuenisset nouam uolop-tatem,

Cic. Tusc., 5, 20.

of the entity to which it refers, and in this capacity has a complement. This complement may be inherent in the demonstrative itself, and is suggested by the situation, and sometimes also by the movement, of the speaker. If I say, for example, to a third person, referring to a man in my presence: "*This* man is my friend," the full force of "*this*" is "*this* man *who is here, near me, or, at whom I am looking, or, at whom I am pointing.*" But the complement in cases like this is not expressed, it is only felt, and the adjective, which fulfils its function in and by itself, is said to be demonstrative. Occasions arise, however, in which the speaker is no longer in a position where a demonstrative may adequately express *per se* his idea, but where additional words that convey a further designation of the entity referred to must take the place of a suggestion which in other circumstances would arise from the situation or a gesture. Suppose that I have put myself into such a position as that just described, and wish to refer to the man mentioned in the example given above. What do I say? Something like this: "*That* man *with whom you saw me* is my friend." "*That*" is here said to be determinative, and the complement, in the form of a relative clause in this case, could not well be omitted. If it were omitted, it would be because the man had been mentioned previously in the conversation, in which case the complement would be mentally supplied both by the speaker and the person addressed. The distinction between demonstratives and determinatives is arbitrary, and in not a few cases it is quite impossible to discern just where the domain of the former ends and that of the latter begins.

⁷⁹ Compare *infra*, p. 84.

non nouam potestatem nactus, sed (ea) quam habebat usus iniuste,
Cic. De Rep., 2, 51.

If *is*, determinative, stands frequently with a following relative clause, as in the first two examples cited above from Cicero, it cannot, in Classical Latin, be used with a following genitive to refer to an entity previously mentioned.⁸⁰ In such a case the substantive expressed in what precedes may always be repeated.

Scipionis orationes meliores sunt *orationibus Laelii*

It would not be possible to say, *Scipionis orationes meliores sunt iis Laelii*, which construction would correspond to the English, *Scipio's orations are better than those of Laelius*, and to the French, *Les discours de Scipion sont supérieurs à ceux de Laelius*. The Latin prefers, however, not to repeat the substantive, and leaves it to be understood, when, if repeated, it would be in the same case, or when there is a preposition to indicate the case that is understood.

Scipionis orationes meliores sunt quam *Laelii*.

haec epistula non *suasoris* est, sed *rogatoris*,

Cic. Att., 16, 16, B. § 9.

quis est qui possit sine Trebonii maxima contumelia conferre vitam
 Trebonii *cum Dolabellae*,

Cic. Phil., 11, 9.

Hic, *iste*, and *ille*, pronominal and adjectival, are found frequently, in Classical Latin, in combination with a following relative clause, and pronominal *hic* and *ille* occasionally with a following genitive. At first sight, one is inclined to regard certain cases in which these combinations occur as illustrating a determinative use of *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*. Further investigation shows, however, that such is not the case, and that these demonstratives, even when used in this way, retain their inherent force, and express an additional idea that would not be given by the regular determinative *is*.

⁸⁰ Compare *infra*, p. 90-91.

de *his* legibus quae promulgatae sunt et de *iis* quae iam latae dicuntur,

Cic. Phil., 1, 25.

This example is valuable in that it contains forms of both *hic* and *is* in combination with following relative clauses, and thereby illustrates plainly the difference in the force of the two pronouns. *His* is demonstrative, referring to laws that are in a relationship of nearness to the speaker, and which he merely designates more closely by means of the relative clause. *Iis*, on the other hand, is the simple determinative, and serves only to point out, without suggesting, in regard to the laws to which it refers, any demonstrative idea; in itself, it is neuter in force, and comes to have a definite value, with reference to the word it qualifies, only when it is taken in connection with the following relative clause. Riemann⁸¹ cites another example from Cicero, Orat., 229, and brings out by his translation of the same into French the difference in force between *is qui* and *hic qui*.

qualis eorum motus quos ἀπαλαίστρους Graeci uocant (de ceux qui), talis horum (de ces gens-ci, de ces gens comme il y en a beaucoup maintenant) mihi uidetur oratio, qui non claudunt numeris sententias.

nullam enim uirtus aliam mercedem . . . desiderat praeter hanc laudis et gloriae,

Cic. Arch., 28.

Here again *hanc* has more than a mere determinative force, and means as Riemann translates, “*celle dont je vous parle en ce moment.*”

An tabulas novas (expectas) errant, qui istas a Catilina expectant; meo beneficio tabulae proferentur, verum auctionariae; nequē enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt,

Cic. Cat., II, 8, § 18.

Ille qui is found on almost every page of Classical Latin, but in no case is it equivalent to the determinative *is qui*; as in the examples containing forms of *hic* and *iste* in combination

⁸¹ *Syntaxe Latine*, quatrième édition, Paris, 1900, p. 41.

with *qui*, so in those containing *ille qui*, the demonstrative force of the pronoun is its *raison d'être*. So again when *ille* stands with a following genitive.

at oratio Laelii de collegiis non melior quam de multis quam uoles Scipionis: non quo *illa Laelii* quicquam sit dulcius, etc.,

Cic. Brut., 83.

Here *illa* means not only "that of Laelius," but "that, so famous, of Laelius."

Before leaving the consideration of the determinative use of demonstratives in Classical Latin, I will cite another example from Cicero which shows that Latin writers of the best period sometimes employed a construction that is found in French. I refer to the construction in which we have a demonstrative that depends on an adjective complement for further determination.⁸²

Orator, non *ille vulgaris*, sed *hic excellens*, a propriis personis et temporibus avocat controversiam,

Cic. Or., 14, 15.

To sum up in a few words what has been said about the determinative use of demonstratives in Classical Latin, we observe:

1. *Is* is the regular, and only, determinative.
2. *Hic*, *iste*, and *ille* are used in certain cases with a force approaching that of the determinative, but in reality always preserve, even here, their inherent demonstrative values. The fact, however, that these three pronouns, whatever additional shades of meaning they may convey, are used in constructions that border on that of the determinative is significant for their future development into purely determinative words in later Latin and in French.⁸³

⁸² Compare *infra*, pp. 72, note 90, 78 and 95.

⁸³ For general treatments of the syntax of the demonstratives in Latin, compare:

Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Latin Grammar*, third edition, 1896, §§305-308.

Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, Hannover, 1878, Vol. II, pp. 450, *et seq.*

In Classical Latin, the signification and use of the several demonstratives that are referred to above were clearly defined, differentiated, and observed, but confusion in their meaning and function was not slow in showing itself, when once the decadence of the language had set in. Nowhere else is the gradual deterioration of classical standards more noticeable than in the domain of the demonstrative pronouns. The determinative *is* ceased to be used during the first centuries of our era, and its place was taken by the other demonstratives, chiefly by *hic*, which, in proportion as it assumed the determinative function, lost its original demonstrative force. In the Latin of the *Historia Apollonii*, a text assigned to the sixth century, Thielmann⁸⁴ finds that all of the nominative forms of *is* have disappeared, and that forms of *hic* regularly take, before a following *qui*, the place of the forms of *is* that no longer exist, or, at least, are no longer used by the author of the work in question.⁸⁵ As a result of the weakening of the traditional value of *hic* as a demonstrative, *iste* came to be used in places where the Classical Latin would have preferred the former pronoun. St. Augustine⁸⁶ writes:

de differentia deorum et daemonum, quorum illos ab hominibus sejungunt, *istos* (instead of *hos*) inter deos et homines collocant.

By the sixth century A. D., therefore, the determinative *is* of the Classical Latin was fast disappearing, and its place was taken by the other demonstratives, especially by *hic*. *Iste* was encroaching on the domain of *hic*. With this résumé, I leave the question of determinative pronouns in Latin, and take up the consideration of the determinative use of the demonstratives in Modern French.

Reisig-Haase, *Vorlesungen über Lateinsche Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1888, Vol. III, pp. 84-100.

Riemann, *Syntaxe Latine*, quatrième édition, Paris, 1900.

⁸⁴ *Über Sprache und Kritik des lateinischen Apolloniusromans*, Progr., Spier, 1881, p. 28.

⁸⁵ See *his qui*, *Historia Apollonii*, 9, 7; *haec quae*, 21, 12; *hoc quod*, 22, 14.

⁸⁶ C. D., 9, 2.

Corresponding to the determinative *is*, which could be used in Latin both pronominally and adjectivally, but which disappeared without leaving any trace in the vernacular of Gaul, the Modern French possesses two words, descended from *ecce* + *iste* and *ecce* + *ille* respectively, that are employed to determine the idea of a person or thing whose essential designation is contained in some complementary expression. I refer to *cet* (*cette, ces*) and *celui* (*celle, ceux, celles*). Of these, the former is generally used as a demonstrative adjective in Modern French; it may stand, occasionally, with the value of a determinative adjective; it may never be employed as a pronoun. *Celui*, on the other hand, occurs in the Modern Language exclusively as a determinative pronoun.

If the adjective *cet* is used determinatively, the idea of the person or thing that it serves to fix more definitely owes its full and adequate expression to a qualifier, most often in the form of a relative clause, but sometimes in that of a substantive or an infinitive preceded by the preposition *de*. For example:

On comprend mieux les dialogues de Platon en voyant *ces* portiques sous lesquelles les anciens se promenaient la moitié du jour (Staël).

This example is cited by Ayer⁸⁷ to illustrate the use of *cet* as a determinative, and may be a fitting illustration of the word in such a construction. Yet, the question of the point of view of the writer would have to be considered, before one could affirm with certainty that Mme. de Staël does not, even here, employ *ces* with demonstrative force, in which case the relative clause that follows would be simply explanatory, offering additional information in regard to the substantive it qualifies. In the following examples, however, there can be no doubt as to the determinative value of *cet*:

Détromper un homme préoccupé de son mérite est luy rendre un aussi mauvais office que celui que l'on rendit à ce fou d'Athènes qui

⁸⁷ *Grammaire comparée de la langue française*, quatrième édition, Paris, 1885, p. 438.

croyait que tous les vaisseaux qui arrivoient dans le port estoient à luy,

La Rochefoucauld, Réflexions Morales, XCII.

Ne montrez aux enfants rien que de simple . . . Eloignez d'eux cette morale qui ressemble à une eau qui n'a pas de source,

Joubert, De l'éducation, XXV.

Celui, the determinative pronoun, is the point of departure in constructions that contain either a relative clause or a substantive or an infinitive preceded by *de*. The relative clause may be one of two kinds, substantive or adjective, and fulfils all the functions that are naturally performed by simple substantives and adjectives. The sentence, *On a arrêté celui qui a volé cette pauvre femme* (= *On a arrêté ce voleur*), illustrates the use of the determinative with a substantive clause. Here *celui* fixes more definitely the person whose essential designation is given by the *qui*-clause, and may accurately be called determinative. But if *celui* stands for, and repeats, a preceding substantive, as in *L'ami qui vous trompe est aussi indigne que celui* (= *l'ami*) *qui vous vole*, strictly speaking, it does not determine the following relative clause, but rather is determined by it, and the clause is no longer substantive and determined, but adjective and determinative.⁸⁸ *Celui* determinative with a following substantive clause is used only of persons; if the clause is adjectival, the pronoun may be used of both persons and things.

L'ami le plus fidele est celui qui nous dit la vérité.

Les seules bonnes copies sont celles qui nous font voir le ridicule des méchants originaux.

Remark. A purely artificial rule, that has developed in modern times, under the influence of the grammarians, demands that *celui-là*, instead of *celui*, be used to determine the idea of a person or thing that is designated by a clause separated by other speech elements from the determining pronoun.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Compare Ayer, p. 633. The distinction between the determinative and the determined pronoun is very nice, but for practical purposes one may include them both under the name of determinative.

⁸⁹ In Old French, no such distinction was made. After the augmented

Celuy-là n'est pas raisonnable à qui le hasard fait trouver la raison, mais celui qui la connoist, qui la discerne, et qui la goûte.

La Rochefoucauld.

In combination with a genitive construction, Modern French usage admits *celui*, determinative, repeating a preceding substantive, with a noun or an infinitive.⁹⁰

Voici votre livre et celui de mon frere.

C'est un méchant métier que celui de médire.

Remark. The construction, so common in Old French, of a form of *cil* in combination with *de* and a substantive of place, to designate the people of that place, while comparatively rare in the Modern Language, is not unknown to it, especially in colloquial style.⁹¹

à ceux de Bruges,

Michelet, His. de France, VI, I.

Vous vous ravitaillerez à Sidney, disaient ceux de l'île à ceux du navire,

Daudet.

Malgré tant de misères endurées avec ceux de la Farandole et du Lucifer, il était resté,

Id.

forms came into use *celui* alone or *celui-là* were used indiscriminately in such construction. *Celuy* peut bien menger sans nappe *Qui fust engendré sans lincheul*, R. G. S., 91, 308. Car *ceulx la* ne sont pas saiges *Qui en perdent leur plaisir*, Ch. XVS., 66, 11. The present day usage was not established until the seventeenth century.

⁹⁰ Also, in writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and occasionally at the present time, especially in legal style, we find *celui*, determinative, in combination with a complementary participle or adjective. (Compare the example cited from Cic. Or., 14, 15, p. 68.) Je joins à ma lettre *celle écrite par le prince*, Racine. On confondait, dans la loi ancienne, une blessure faite à une bête et *celle faite à un esclave*, Montesquieu. Cette remarque, ainsi que *celles purement grammaticales*, Voltaire. Dans des circonstances comme *celles actuelles*, Thiers. Compare *infra*, pp. 78 and 95.

⁹¹ Compare *infra*, pp. 92-93.

CHAPTER IV.

DETERMINATIVE FORCE OF *CIST*.

A. *Cist* IS USED DETERMINATIVELY IN OLD FRENCH AS A PRONOUN.⁹²

1. *With a following Relative Clause.*

Bien me sui apercéud que *cist* est mult pruzdum *ki par ci passed*
suenierement,⁹³

L. Rois, IV, IV.

Sire, *cist* est ocis
Qui ert dotez en toz païs,⁹⁴

Mer., 4675-4676.

Mès *cis* atent bonne menaie
Qui de cele floiche est plaiés,

Rose, I, 31.

Car *cis* qui sor soi la portoit
Mesuns venins ne redotoit,

Ibid., I, 35.

⁹² All of the cases of *cist* used as a determinative pronoun that are found in the texts examined are cited under A. It will be seen later (cf. *infra*, pp. 80 *et seq.*) that *cil* was by far the more common determinative pronoun and adjective in Old French. It is clear in not a few instances that *cist* and *cil* followed by a determinator had originally a certain amount of their respective demonstrative values, the determinator giving an additional or more specific delimitation. In a majority of cases, however, the determinator assumed so large a place in the delimitation that *cist* and *cil* lost a part of, or all, their individual coloring, and could be used interchangeably. With this weakening of their demonstrative values it became, so far as meaning was concerned, indifferent whether *cist* or *cil* was chosen as the introductory word for a determinator, and in the contest between them, *cil*, for one reason or another, was largely victorious.

⁹³ Latin: Animadverto quod vir Dei sanctus est iste qui per nos frequenter.

⁹⁴ If *cist* is determinative in this passage, the fact that the speaker is near the conquered giant referred to may have had something to do with its choice.

in the following *de*-phrase. As a pronoun determinator, *cist* is never used to repeat the idea of a previously mentioned substantive.⁹⁵

Cist de Lune orent grant pour,

Rou, I, 524.

Lores levad li reis, si s'asist à une porte. E *cest*⁹⁶ *del host* le sourent,

L. Rois, II, XIX.

Cist de l'ost öent la novele
C' a Rome vint lor damoisele,

Ille, 6531-6532.

Et fu pres de .II. lieues loing
Que li autre qui sont remes,
Ne cil de l'ost ne *cist des nes*,
Ne sevent por quoi s'en retourne,

Mer., 5808-5811.

B. *Cist* IS USED DETERMINATIVELY IN OLD FRENCH AS AN ADJECTIVE.

1. *With a following Relative Clause.*

Sire, sire, sur mei seit *cest* pecchié, nient sur tei, *que tu fras si tu te venges de mun mari*,⁹⁷

L. Rois, I, XXV.

Ainc dix ne fist *ce regné*,
ne par terre ne par mer,
se t'i quidoie trover,
ne t'i *quesisçe*,

Auc., 35, 12-15.

Car il enquiert mout uolentiers
Nouueles a *ces* cheualiers

⁹⁵ Compare a use of *cil*, *infra*, pp. 92-93.

⁹⁶ Proper reading *cist*?

⁹⁷ Compare *cil* in parallel construction, *infra*, p. 96 and note 132. In *Vien t'en . . . en l'ost ces genz ki n'unt recéu circumcisiun*, *L. Rois, I, XIV*, *ces* is not necessarily determinative, but may as the context shows, be used here with its demonstrative force, in which case the following relative clause would be only explanatory. The Latin of the passage is: *Veni, transeamus ad stationem incircuncisorum horum*. The same may be true of *ces* in the following sentence from *Am. et Am.*, 1792-1794: or jurrai vostre fille, Si m'ait dex et *ces* saintes reliques, *Qui sor cel palie sont couchies et mises*. Cf. also the form of *cist* in *Villeh.*, 22.

Ki uont aussi comme cil fait,

Ch. II esp., 2763-2765.

*Puis ice ior que m'adouba
Li rois Artus,*

Ibid., 5615-5616.

*Ce pou qu'aus armes fu en vie,
Tuit li bon avoient envie
De lui resambler de maniere,*

Ruteb., 86, 37-39.

*Et ces gens que il menoient en Egypte, prenoient en Orient,*⁹⁸

Joinv., 280.

*En che tamps que li contes Loies de Flandres estoit dans sa grignour
prosperité,*

Froiss. Chr., IX, 162.

*En ce temps que j'emprins à faire mon chemin de aler vers le conte
de Foiz,*

Ibid., XI, 22.

*Je viens de devers monseigneur d'Angou et voy délivrer ces hostagiers
que vous sçaves,*

Ibid., XI, 42.

*Mais, au propos de ma jument,
Ou cheval, ne me chault lequel,
De quoy me sert a ung chapel
Ceste cornette qu'on y met,*

R. G. S., 84, 221-224.

*Je ne suis pas de ces gens là
A qui Fortune plaist et rit,*

C. Orl., 299, 14-15.

⁹⁸ This example also is not conclusive; the context shows that *ces* may be used here with demonstrative force, the people referred to being under discussion at the present moment. On the common border between the domain of *cist* demonstrative and *cist* determinative is *ce* in temporal expressions so frequent in Joinville: *En ce point que li roys estoit en Acre*, Joinv., 418. (Cf. *Ibid.*, 113, 133, 135, 137, 419, 609). In all these cases incidents that occurred during the sojourn of St. Louis at a certain place are related, and then, usually at the beginning of a following paragraph, the historian fixes a date by means of the formula *en ce point que*. Again, in the following passages *cist* seems to be both demonstrative and determinative up to a certain point: *A ce parlement que li baron firent à Corbeil*, Joinv., 74. Mention has been made of an assembly of nobles at Corbeil, but a paragraph intervenes between the first mention of the council and the present sentence. *Ceste parole que li roys dist de sa demourée*, *Ibid.*, 438. *le duc de Bourgoingne, l'aioul de cesti duc qui est mors nouvellement*, *Ibid.*, 555. Here the choice of *cesti* is undoubtedly determined by a concept of nearness. *De ce miracle que Diex fist à la fille de la veuve femme*, *Ibid.*, 590. The miracle is mentioned previously in the text.

le duc de Nemours, lequel fist serment au Roy, luy promettant tenir son party: toutesfoys puis fist le contraire, dont le Roy conceupt *ceste* longue hayne *qu'il a eue contre luy*,

Com., 17.

et de *ce* petit *que j'ay veu*, ne veiz jamais gens qui eussent meilleur vouloir de combattre,

Ibid., 21.

Ce premier soir *que le duc de Bourgongne fut logé en leur faulxbourg*,

Ibid., 137.

2. *With a following de-phrase.*⁹⁹

The complement of the preposition *de*¹⁰⁰ may be a noun, proper or common, or an infinitive.

lequel avoit esté prins en *ceste* bataille de *Montlehery*,

Com., 41.

en *ces* guerre d'*Ytalie*,

Ibid., 42.

Là fut demandé *ceste* duche de *Normendie*,

Ibid., 69.

Lendemain luy apporterent articles par lesquels ilz luy demandoient tout ce que le duc Philippes leur avoit osté par *ceste* paix de *Gavre*,

Ibid., 108.

Li queiz tamis fut . . . devant les oez de toz, et ioskes a *ces*¹⁰¹ tens des *Lumbers* pendit sor les huisches de la glise,

Dial. Gr., 56, 22.

il vint à mon signour Olivier de Termes, et à *ces* autres chieveteins de *la corte laingue*,

Joinv., 578.

Mais le roy Loys . . . a myeulx sceu entendre *cest* art de *separer les gens*, que nul autre prince que j'aye jamais congneu,

Com., 87.

Tantost de mes nouvelles

Certes luy escriproy,

Si honte ne craingnoye

⁹⁹ Cf. in this connection the interesting example in *Joinv.*, 69: dont ce fu comme une prophecie de la grant foison de gens qui moururent en *ces* dous croisemens, c'est a savior en *celi d'Egypte*, et en l'autre.

¹⁰⁰ The determinating phrase may be introduced in rare instances by the preposition *à*. En *ces* neis de Marseille *à* dous *gouvernuns*, *Joinv.*, 274. It is probable that still other prepositions are found in this construction, although no examples of such are afforded by the texts I have examined.

¹⁰¹ Latin: ad haec Longobardorum tempora.

Et j'eusse *ceste* loy
D'ouser l'aller sercher,¹⁰²

Ch. XVS., 72, 5-8.

3. With a following adjective.¹⁰³

Or ne sai je mies se proëce voet encores cheminer oultre Engleterre
ou reculer le chemin que elle a fait, car si com chi dessus est dit,
elle a cerchiet et environné *ces* royaumes et *ces* pays dessus mommés,
Froiss. Chr., II, 11.

Et si ne mainnent point de charoy pour les diverses montagnes qu'il
ont a passer, et parmi *che* paÿs dessus dit que on claimme North-
ombrelande,

Ibid., II, 134.

Il s'en estoit fouy *ceste* nuyt precedente, plus de deux mil hommes,
Com., 136.

4. With self-evident determinator omitted.

The omitted determinator is something like "whom we all know about," and *cist* is here similar to the Latin *ille* = "the well known."¹⁰⁴

Sermonez *ces* hauz coronez
Ces grans doiens et *ces* prelaz,

Ruteb., 38, 123-124.

¹⁰² For the use of determinative *ce* with a following infinitive in the seventeenth century, see Haase, *Syntaxe*, § 27, Remarque. The determining *de*-phrase in Old French may contain a substantive or an infinitive that is appositional to the substantive determined by the adjective *cist*. One or two of the examples cited above under 2 may be interpreted in such a way as to offer illustration of this phenomenon. In the following examples we have unmistakable cases of appositional determinators with the adjective *cist*: Et fault bien dire que en *ceste* Isle de France est bien assise *ceste* ville de Paris, Com., 50. au long de *ceste* riviere de Seyne, Ibid., 62. et est signe qu'il n'est point entachié de *ce* vice et peché d'orgueil, Ibid., 57. Autrefois a pleu au Roy me faire *cest* honneur de dire que j'avoye bien servy a *ceste* pacification, Ibid., 131. The *de* may occasionally be omitted before the appositional substantive: et s'en vindrent au tour des montaignes entre *ces* deux rivières Lisse et Lesse jusques à Thoulouse, Froiss. Chr., XI, 56.

¹⁰³ Cf. example from Cic. Or., 14, 15, *supra*, p. 68.

¹⁰⁴ The question of the omission of a determinator is discussed at length under determinative *cil*, *infra*, pp. 97-100.

Ces empereris, *ces* duchesses,
Ces roïnes et *ces* contesses,
Ces hautes dames palasines,
Ces abéesses, *ces* béguines,
Ces baillives, *ces* chevalières,
Ces borgoises cointes et fières,
Ces nonains et *ces* damoiseles,

.

Jà ne s'en iront esgarées,

Rose, II, 29.

Et les hales sont faites à la guise des cloistres de *ces* moïnes blans,

Joinv., 95.

Helas! il n'est si douce chose
 Que de *ce* doulx roussignolet
 Qui chante au soir, au matinet,

Ch. 27, 9-11.

In conclusion it may be remarked by way of summary, that the use of *cist* as a determinative word was extremely limited in the earlier part of the Old French period. Apart from its frequent employment in the *Roman de la Rose*, a frequency of employment that was exceptional for the time, it is of rare occurrence before the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the epoch at which the demonstratives became confused owing to the gradual loss of their traditional values.

CHAPTER V.

DETERMINATIVE FORCE OF *CIL*.

A. *Cil* IS USED DETERMINATIVELY IN OLD FRENCH AS A PRONOUN.

1. *With a following Relative Clause.*

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| <i>Celui tien ad espous Qui nos redemst de son sanc precious,</i> | <i>Alex., XIV.</i> |
| <i>Com felix cil qui par fait l'onorerent,</i> | <i>Ibid., C.</i> |
| <i>Cels qui od lui alerent conreat gentement,</i> | <i>Karls. R., 77.</i> |
| <i>Charlemaignes fut liez et cil qui sont od lui,</i> | <i>Ibid., 203.</i> |
| <i>Cil sunt muntét ki le message firent,</i> | <i>Rol., 92.</i> |
| <i>Puint le ceval, laisset curre ad espleit, Si fiert celui ki le dragun teneit,</i> | <i>Ibid., 3547-3548.</i> |
| <i>E grant pris durent cil aueir Ki escristrent premierement,</i> | <i>Rou, I, 8-9.</i> |
| <i>Quant Rou oi del sunge l'interpretatiun, A celui ki li dist duna grant gueredun,</i> | <i>Ibid., II, 278-279.</i> |
| <i>Tut issi frad l'um des boes celui ki mei e Samuel en l'ost ne siwerad,¹⁰⁵</i> | <i>L. Rois, I, XI.</i> |
| <i>Maleit seit cil ki mangerad devant le vespre,¹⁰⁶</i> | <i>Ibid., I, XIV.</i> |
| <i>Ne dutai pas, bien le saveie que pur remembrance les firent des aventures qu'il oïrent cil ki primes les comencierent,</i> | <i>M. Fce., Prol., 34-37.</i> |

¹⁰⁵ Latin: quicumque non exierit, et secutus fuerit Saül et Samuel, sic fiet bobus ejus.

¹⁰⁶ Latin: Maledictus vir qui comederit panem usque ad vesperam.

Cil, ki sevent de letreüre,
devreient bien metre lur cure
es bons livres e es escriz,

Fa., Prol., 1-3.

Car *cil, qui soloient amer,*
Se feisoient cortois clamer,

Ch. lyon, 21-22.

Cil, qui rien n'an santant
Dient qu'il aiment, mes il mantent,
Et *cil* fable et mançonge an font,
Qui s'an vantent, et droit n'i ont,

Ibid., 25-28.

Mes por parler de *caus qui furent*
Leissons *caus, qui an vie durent,*

Ibid., 29-30.

Donent grans dons por feire amis;
Quant ont doné et plus premis,
Ja n'aurunt plus maus anemis
Que *cil qu'il ont es ennors mis,*

L. Man., 2, 6.

Mal soit de *cel qui li feïst ostaige,*

Am. et Am., 779.

Certes usages est de droite conuersation, ke *cil* n'oset pas estre
dessoure *ki n'aurat apris estre dessuz*,¹⁰⁷

Dial. Gr., 9, 23.

tuit conistroient ouertement de com grande merite fust *icil cui cors*
ilokes gisoit,¹⁰⁸

Ibid., 25, 7.

Ge toi coniuur par *icelui a cui tu uas*,¹⁰⁹

Ibid., 32, 10.

Mais *icil ki la astoient*¹¹⁰ . . . osterent la meschine del oratoire,

Ibid., 42, 15.

Óil qui mix torble les gués,
est li plus sire clamés,

Auc., 31, 9.

et mande [le pape] par lui le pardon tel con je vos dirai: Tuit *cil*
qui se croisseroient . . . seroient quite de toz les pechiez que il avoient
faiz,

Villeh., 2.

et *cil* jureroient sor sains que il esliroient à emperor *celui cui il*

¹⁰⁷ Latin: Vsus quidem rectae conuersationis est, ut praeesse non audeat, qui subesse non didicerit.

¹⁰⁸ Latin: cuncti cognoscerent quanti esset meriti is cuius illic corpus iaceret.

¹⁰⁹ Latin: Per illum ad quem vadis, te adiuro.

¹¹⁰ Latin: Hi vero qui aderant.

cuideroient que fust plus à profit de la terre,

Ibid., 234.

Contrediseor sont, ne dient
Point de lor sens, ainz sont de *ceus*
Qui tot boivent lor sens par *eus*,

Mer., 14-16.

Ja autres armes n'i querron
For *celes* que avron en l'ore,

Ibid., 3644-3645.

Et ie sui *cil* ki le fera,¹¹¹

Ch. II esp., 505.

De toutes les paours k'ele ot
Deuant eues, se estoit
Noiens uers *celes* k'ele avoit
En *cel* point,

Ibid., 730-733.

Moult sot bien paindre et bien portraire
Cil qui tiez ymages sot faire,

Rose, I, 6.

Car il font *ceus* des cors estranges
Qui déussent estre privés,

Ibid., I, 34.

Et *cil* trop a tart se repent
 Qui trop a mis,
De son avoir por fere amis,

Ruteb., 7, 129-131.

¹¹¹ The Modern French of to-day would not employ this construction, but would have instead—*c'est moi qui le ferai*. The attraction of the verb of the subordinate clause to the person of the pronoun referred to by the antecedent, was possibly as early as the fifteenth century. Voir *vraiment je suis celui* Qui *prend* les mouches a l'englu, R. G. S., III, 550. Et pour ce, se *je suis celui* Qui *m'en plains*, j'ay raison pourquoy, C. Orl., 291, 24. (This construction of the fifteenth century is still used by Bossuet: *Je suis celui qui suis*. See Darmesteter, *Cours de Grammaire Historique*, Sudre, Quatrième partie, 406, III, a.) In the regular Old French construction, however, the verb of the subordinate clause, dependent on *cil* as an antecedent, stood in the third person, regardless of the personal pronoun that was referred to by *cil*: *ge sui cil qui est versés*, Rose, I, 32. Aincois suis *celle* qui *se tient* En son palais pour gloire avoir, C. Pis. L. E., 2920-2921. Fors que *moy* seul, qui suis *celluy* Qui *est* le plus dolent de France, C. Orl., 66, 25-26. Respundi Nathan: *Tu es cil* ki *go ad fait*, L. Rois, II, XII. *Vous estes celle* Qui *a mys* mon cuer en ses las, R. G. S., 148, 165-66. The fact that only one example (from L. Rois, as just cited) of this construction of *cil*, determinative, was found in texts prior to those of the thirteenth century, whereas, from that epoch on, examples become more frequent, is evidence that the construction was not popular until comparatively late in the Old French period.

Et vendent les mestiers devant dit . . . *cil qui du Roy l'ont achaté,*
L. Mest., I, I.

et *ceux qui sont hors de la vile*, et *cil a qui leur femmes gisent d'enfant,*
 et *cil qui sont seignié*, ne doivent point de guet,

Ibid., XVII, XVI.

Tuit *cil qui croient en la loy Haali* dient que *cil qui croient en la loy Mahomet* sont mescreant; et aussi tuit *cil qui croient en la loy Mahomet* dient que tuit *cil qui croient en la loy Haali* sont mescreant,

Joinv., 459.

Si vous en povés partir quant vous vouldrés et dire à *celluy* ou à *ceulx qui cy vous envoient*, que nostre election est bonne,

Froiss. Chr., XI, 11.

Et ce fist la fausse envie
 De *ceulx qui heent la vie*
 Des bons,

C. Pis. L.E., 231-233.

Je voys mignons, je voys mignonnes,
 Je voys *ceulx qui en font de bonnes*,

R. G. S. 30, 207-208.

De mes biens tout n'est pas fondu;
Ceux qui les pratiquent les ont,

Ibid., 39, 337.

Amour grant aumosne fera,
 En ce fait cy d'estre piteux;
 Et bon exemple monstera
 A toutes *celles* et à *ceulx*
Qui le sevent,

C. Orl., 74, 4.

Ou est doncques *celui qui se polra garder d'estre corumpu*,

Chart. C., 9, 3.

Car les grans vens qui soufflent es haultes cours sont de telle condicion, que *ceulx qui s'i sont follement juchiez* sont après leur desapointment comme ung spetacle d'envie,

Ibid., 9, 23.

Car volentiers *ceulx qui font les choses en crainte*, y donnent les bonnes provisions, et plus souvent gaignent que *ceulx qui y procedent avec grant orgueil*,

Com., 110.

et ne failloit pas à promettre, et ordonna distribuer quinze mil escuz, mais *celluy qui en eust la charge* en retint une partie,

Ibid., 129.

Examples of determinative *cil* with a following relative clause, as in the above passages, might be added without number.¹¹²

¹¹² Care should be taken not to interpret as determinative certain combinations of *cil* with a relative clause where the pronoun is used demon-

The determinative correlative is not always expressed before the relative pronoun.¹¹³

*Qui Deus a duné esciënce
e de parler bone eloquence,
ne s'en deit taisir ne celer,
ainz se deit voluntiers mustrer,*

M. Fec., Prol., 1-4.

*Dehait ait, fors vous solement
Qui en ces porpris l'amena,*

Rose, I, 96.

*Si convient estre diligent
A qui vœult siure ce chemin,*

C. Pis. L. E., 930-931.

*Mais sages est qui se fie
En dieu,*

Ibid., 235-236.

The determinative antecedent in Old French may be, as it regularly is in English, a personal pronoun of the third

stratively; for example, in cases like the following: Ains teus force ne fu veüe, Ne si lez torz, con tu me fes, Que nes veoir tu ne me les *Celui*, *qui si est pres de moi*, Ch. Lyon, 1214-1217. The relative clause in this particular case has an adverbial value, and expresses the idea of concession. Et qui ert-il? Li Outredotez, et c'est *cil* *Que Meraugis a tant seü*, Mer., 3679-3681. Car des serians de laiens fu. C'est *icil ki porta l'escu*, Ch. II, esp., 6701-6702. Privée sui moult et acointe De Déduit le mignot, le cointe; C'est *cil cui est cil biax jardins*, Rose, I, 20. In the last three examples we have a form of *cil* followed by a relative clause and standing after the verb form *est*; the subject of *est* is a neuter *ce* referring back to a person just mentioned. The *cil* is here strongly demonstrative, emphasis being gained by its position after *c'est*. Cf. with these examples containing *c'est cil qui* two others in which *cist*, instead of *cil*, is used in similar construction. Ce fu *cis* [Socrate], bien le dit Solin, *Qui par les respons Apolin Fu jugié du mont li plus sages*, Ce fu *cis* à *qui li visages*, De tout quanque li avenoit, *Tous jors en un point se tenoit*, Rose, I, 196. S'il n'i avoit que Male-Bouche (*C'est cis qui plus au cuer me touche*, *Cis a les autres esméus*), Ibid., I, 242. This construction, *c'est cil* or *cis qui*, is a favorite one with Guillaume de Lorris; cf. Rose, I, 2, 7, 29, 34, 39, 41, 42.

¹¹³ For examples showing a corresponding omission of the antecedent in Latin, see *supra*, pp. 65-66. Cf. the Modern French in such sentences as— *Qui voit un prisonnier en voit cent; qui entend un prisonnier en entend mille*, Dumas, Monte-Cristo.

person. In the texts I have examined, *il* is the only personal pronoun that is used in this way.

Il puet estre Cervoiesier a Paris qui veut,

L. Mest., VIII, I.

Il est a Paris Orfevres qui veut,

Ibid., XI, I.

Il est fos qui maine dangier

Vers cil qu'il déust losengier,

Rose, I, 61.

Il m'a garie

Qui m'en parle, quoi qu'il m'en die,

Ibid., I, 87.

a. *Come Cil Qui.*

Willeame s'entremist de sun afaitement,

Cume cil ki ne sout de misere nient,¹¹⁴

Rou, II, 1618-1619.

This sentence, whose second number is introduced by *cume cil ki*, may serve to illustrate a construction that is common in Old French. In cases of this kind, a form of *cil*, which might be called here a correlative of identity, repeats and stands for a preceding substantive, usually the subject or the object of a principal clause. The force of *come cil qui* is "in my, your, or his capacity as one who," according as the substantive that the *cil* stands for is first, second, or third person. The relative clause, which, as far as the form of the construction is concerned, depends on *cil* as an antecedent, belongs logically to the substantive of the principal clause that *cil* repeats, and expresses the cause of, or the ground for, an action or a condition of the agent represented by the substantive. The clause assigns as cause an actual fact, hence its verb is always in the indicative. The person of the verb of the *come cil qui* clause varies, according to that of the controlling agent of the principal clause. Note the following additional examples:

¹¹⁴ Cf. *Il s'escondit com li om qui nel set*, Alex., LXV.

Respundirent ces de Juda à ces de Israel: Pur ço l'avum fait que li reis nus est plus près que à vus, *cume cil qui est de notre lignage*,¹¹⁵

L. Rois, II, XIX.

Li baron merci vos crient de la prise de Jadres; que il le fistrent *comme cil qui mienz ne pooient faire*,

Villeh., 106.

Joffrois li marcehaus de Champaigne, qui cestre œuvre dita (qui ainc n'i menti de mot à son escient, si *con cil qui à toz les conseils fu*),

Ibid., 120.

Quant Kex ot bien belement
Du premier mes serui par tout,
Con cil ki bel le faisoit mout,

Ch. II esp., 142-144.

Mais eles se sont entremises
Con celes qui femes estoient,
Qu'eles requerre li uaueroient
Un don,

Ibid., 8206-8209.

et se ala mettre en croiz devant le cors Nostre-Signour, *comme cil qui n'atendoit que la mort*,

Joinv., 39.

Li cuens de la Marche, *comme cil qui ne le pot amender*, s'en vint en la prison le roy,

Ibid., 103.

Il dort tousjours a parler vrayement
Comme celluy qui en riens ne prouffite,

C. Orl., 182, 7-8.

Ledict seigneur jura ladicte paix; et dès le lendemain delibera de partir, *comme celuy qui avoit grant envie de retourner en France*,

Com., 648.

Si m'embaterai sur lui sudéement, e sur les suens, *cume sur cels ki las sunt*, si l'descunfirai; e quant tuit li suen serunt turné à fuie, jo ocirai le rei *cume celui ki ert senz aïe*,¹¹⁶

L. Rois, II, XVII.

Mon bel amy, du tout je le retien,
Comme celle qui suys, ou que je soye,
Vostre a jamès,

Ch. XVS., 59, 9-11.

J'en parle *comme de celluy que j'ay congneu*,

Com., 517.

¹¹⁵ Latin: Et respondit omnis vir Juda ad viros Israel: Quia mihi propior est rex.

¹¹⁶ Latin: Et irruens super eum (quippe qui lassus est et solutis manibus) percutiam eum; cumque fugerit omnis populus qui cum eo est, percutiam regem desolatum.

Et de ce propos en sçavez plus que moy, *comme celui qui l'aydastes a penser en ceste maladie*,¹¹⁷

Ibid., 324.

This construction involving *come cil qui*, of which examples have just been cited and in which the pronoun is a correlative of identity, is evidently an extension of another basal construction that contains the same locution, *come cil qui*, but in which *cil* determines the idea of a second distinct person with whom a genuine comparison is made.

Il vient aïrez *come cil*
Qui semble qu'il doie le mont
Confondre,

Mer., 2074-2076.

et furent tel [les serments]; que se il ne tenoient au roy les convenances, que il fussent aussi honni *comme cil qui par son pechié aloit en pelerinaige à Maques sa teste descouverte . . . et fussent aussi honni comme cil qui lessoient lour femmes, et les reprenoient après,*

Joinv., 360.

Tant fui penssis a ceste chose
 Que je desvoiai de ma voie,
Com cil qu'a lui meismes chose,

Ruteb., 36, 9-11.

vous y venés bien tard
Com celui qui crye la moutarde,

R. G. S., 37, 304-305.

Si m'an doit an tel gre savoir,
Con celui, qui autrui avoir
Anprunte et puis si le repaie,

Ch. lyon, 6705-6707.

Notice that the verb forms in the last five examples are in the third person, as all verb forms must be from the nature of the case in genuine comparisons of this sort.

¹¹⁷ For further examples of *cil* correlative of identity in the locution *come cil qui*, cf. L. Rois, I, II; Villeh., 125, 135, 328, 372, 388, 467; L. Mest., I, LXI; Joinv., 414, 622. The French of to-day has lost this construction. It was not uncommon, however, in the seventeenth century: Elle vous parle *comme celle qui n'est pas savante*. . . et elle vous écoute *comme celle qui sait beaucoup*, La Bruy., II, 92. Cf. Haase, *Syntaxe Française du XVIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1898, § 26.

The step from *come cil qui* in genuine comparisons between two distinct individuals to *come cil qui* in expressions of identity is easy and natural. Yet the substitution of identity for similarity was not always complete in the mind of the Old French writer or speaker, and this led to a certain hesitation in the form of construction, as is shown by the person of the verb in the *come cil qui* clauses of the two following examples:

Et moy, *com celle qui* vouloit
Tout enquerir, lors sanz tarder
 Pris environ moy regarder,

C. Pis. L. E., 2062-2064.

Plus longement je ne le puis celer,
 Qu'il ne faille que sachiez ma detresse
Comme celle qui me peut conforter,

C. Orl., 15, 21-23.

Note. The *come cil qui* construction in which *cil* is a correlative of identity is, if the explanation of its origin just given above is correct, a Romance development. It is therefore unnecessary to attempt to discover its origin in any Latin construction. However, the casual relation that is so prominent in the relative clause of almost all the examples of this construction points back to a well known Latin construction. I refer to those causal relative clauses of the Latin that are introduced by *quippe qui* or an equivalent. *Quippe* in combination with the relative has the force of "as one in fact who" that is, "since or inasmuch as I, thou, he, etc.," which is the translation of *come cil qui* in the Old French construction. *Convivia cum patre non inibat: quippe qui ne in oppidum quidem, nisi perraro veniret*, Cic. *Rosc. Am.*, 18, 52. *tametsi pro imperio vobis quod dictum foret, Scibat facturos; quippe qui intellexerat, Vereri vos se et metuere*, Plaut. *Ep. Am.*, 3, 2, 30.

b. *N'i a Cel Qui.*

Throughout the whole Old French period we encounter the crystallized locution in which *cel* or *celui*, with the sense of indefinite "any one," stands as the complement or predicate

of a negatived verb, and is followed by a characteristic relative clause.

*N'i a cel ki ne port le brant d'acier tut nu,*¹¹⁸

Rou, II, 1003.

By this locution, *n'i a cel qui*, the existence of even a single individual with the characteristics indicated by the relative clause is denied, or at least called into question. Note the following additional examples:

*N'i a celui ki bien ne creie
que granz mals avenir lur deie,*

Fa., XLIII, 15-16.

*Et si n'i a celui, que n'et
Les braz las,*

Ch. lyon, 6208-6209.

et il n'i avoit celi qui ne fust graindre que une de nos,

Villeh., 179.

N'i a celui ki ne se taise,

Ch. II esp., 11048.

*Car il n'i a celi qui autant n'aint sa vie comme je faiz la mienne,
Joinv., 264.*

*Là viennent les aultres commères, et les unes avant les autres, et
n'y a celle qui ne die de très-bonnes raisons,*

XV Joies, 156.

The relative clause, while in the majority of cases negative, is sometimes affirmative.

*Ciel ne fud nez de medre vius
Qui tal exerceite vidist,*

Meyer Rec., 196, 137-138.

*Nul n'en i at quin alget malendous,
Cel n'en i at quin report sa dolour,*¹¹⁹

Alex., CXI.

N'i ad celui ki mot sunt ne mot tint,

Rol., 411.

*N'i a celi, qui s'ost movoir,
Des qu'eles me voient venir,*

Ch. lyon, 344-345.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *N'i a femme malueise, ki mierz de tei ne vaille*, *Rou, II, 1452.*
n'i ot un sul ki l'apristmast qu'il n'ocesist e devorast, *Fa., XIX, 7-8.*

¹¹⁹ Cf. *N'est altre ki le resemble, ne ki l'vaille*, *Rois, I, XXI.* *N'i a ne fort ne fieble ki a Rou cuntrestace*, *Rou, II, 692.*

The relative clause may be left unexpressed.

Si plorerent *n'i ot celui*,

J. de Condé, I, 221.

Et jurent qu'il mengeront
Ja en *cel leu nes troveront*,

Renard, 13379-13380.

Tout estoient de vert vesti,
N'i avoit ceste ne cesti,¹²⁰

Froiss. P., I, 30.

The origin of the *n'i a cel qui* construction is the Latin *nemo est quin*. *Nemo est quin hoc videat*.¹²¹

2. With a following *de*-phrase.¹²²

a. Standing for, and repeating, a preceding substantive.
The pronoun is determined by the following *de*-phrase.

Des amendes de XXs. li jure . . . auront IIIIs., et de *celes de Xs.*
IIIs., et de *celes de Vs.* XIIId. et de *celes de XIIId.* IVd.,

L. Mest., LIII, XXI.

dont ce fu aussi comme une prophecie de la grant foison de gens
qui moururent en ces dous croisemens, c'est à savoir en *celi de Egypte*
et en l'autre,

Joinv., 69.

Comment les anciens nommoient
Vertu et Honneur qu'ilz amoient
Deux deesses, et a chascune
Un temple firent; *cilz* de l'une
Entroit en l'autre, et ert *cellui*
De Vertu,

C. Pis. L. E., 5577-5582.

¹²⁰ For other cases of the *n'i a cel qui* construction cf. *Rol.*, 822, 1437, 1482, 1618, 1803, 1814, 2545, 3462, 3805. The construction had not disappeared in the first half of the seventeenth century, for Vaugelas, *Q-C.*, V. 5, writes—Comme ils vinrent à s'écrier tous ensemble, qu'enfin Jupiter vengeur de la Grèce avoit ouvert les yeux, *il n'y eut celui qui ne s'intéressât* en leurs maux; see Haase, *Syntaxe*, § 26. Present day usage substitutes *personne* for *celui*; *il n'y a personne* dans ce hameau *qui ne sache lire*.

¹²¹ See Riemann, *Syntaxe*, § 198, b.

¹²² Cf. *A.* 1. *supra*, p. 80.

la court, qui fait a homme delaisser ses propres meurs pour soy
mouller a *ceulx d'autrui*,

Chart. C., 11, 22.

La toison d'une brebis noire
Vault mieulx que *celle d'une blanche*,

R. G. S., 103, 453-454.

The pronoun determinator *cil*, repeating a preceding substantive, is occasionally omitted before a following genitive construction. This omission of a determinator was common in Latin.¹²³

E mes piez fait ignels cume *de cerf*,¹²⁴

L. Rois, II, XXII.

Que nature et amor de chien
Vault miauz que *de feme* ne fait,

Chevalier a'l'Epee, 1108-1109.

Et lors je pris le pan de son seurcot et *dou seurcot* le roy,

Joinv., 36.

l'yaue devenoit ou chant dou jour aussi froide comme *de fonteinne*,

Ibid., 189.

The use of the definitive article with a following genitive construction, to repeat a preceding substantive, was quite as frequent, at least in earlier Old French, as that of the demonstrative.

Vindrent parent e lor amic,
Li saint L., *li Evrui[n]*,

Meyer Rec., 196, 117-118.

Al tems Noe ed al tems Abraam
Ed *al David*, cui Deus par amat tant,

Alex., II.

Par fei, Dist Cone, sire, ne vi mais tel maisnie[e]
Cum est *la duc Willeame*,

Rou, II, 1669-1670.

¹²³ Cf. *supra*, p. 66. Cf. also La Rochef., III, 242: Ma femme et mes enfants ne me laisseroient pas hasarder ma foi, mon honneur et mon repos, et *de ma famille*. A present-day construction, which may not be identical with this, but which in all events is closely allied to it, is that illustrated by the following verses from Musset's *Premières Poésies*:

Mes premiers vers sont d'un enfant,
Les seconds d'un adolescent,
Les derniers à peine d'un homme.

¹²⁴ Latin: Coaequans pedes meos cervis.

E sewid les males traces sun père, e ne fud pas sis cuers parfiz
devant nostre Seignur, si cume fud *le David*,

L. Rois, III, XV.

Si penroie ainz l'ame de lui
Plus tost, je cuit, que *la nului*,

Ruteb., 75, 47-48.

et en la terre l'evesque et en *l'autrui*,

L. Mest., XV, XIV.

Aimi! sire, osten vo keval,
A pau que il ne m'ait blechie.
Li Robin ne regiete mie
Quant je vois après se carue,

Rob. et Mar., 73-76.

je n'i vi cottes brodées ne *les [le] roi* ne *les autrui*,

Joinv., 25.

b. Referring, not to an entity previously mentioned, but to a person or persons whose designation with reference to nationality, place of abode, occupation, affiliations, etc., is contained in a following *de*-phrase.

Ja cil d'Espagne de mort n'avront guarant,

Rol., 1081.

Cil del Maine roberent suuent Alencuneis;
Rotro, li quens del Perche, e *cil de Belesmeis*,
Cuntre cels mist Richart *cels d'Alge* e *cels d'Uismeis*,

Rou., II, 4133-4135.

Cil de Azote truverent Dagon lur deu,

L. Rois, I, IV.

Quant *cil de Biaucaire* virent lor damiosel, s'en fisent grant joie,
Auc., 34, 12.

U'autre part vienent *cil de Tharse*,

Ruteb., 23, 164.

Cil de Paris les vindrent querre a armes,

Joinv., 73.

Et fumes de lors en avant que nous n'eumes ne treves ne paiz ne
à *ceus de Dumas* ne à *ceus de Babiloine*,

Ibid., 539.

Cil de Saint Flour furent moult esbahi,

Froiss. Chr., IX, 142.

Or me dittes, *ceulx de Callais*
Sont ilz bien d'accort maintenant?

R. G. S., 68, 39-40.

Deus, que dunc nel prist mort subite!
Si fussent *cil del pais* quite,

Rou., I, 646-647.

- il dotoient autant *cels de la vile* cum il faisoient cels de hors,
Villeh., 339.
- Et on li dist qu'ele est en l'ost, et si i avoit mené tox *ciax du pais*,
Auc., 28, 21.
- Cil de ceste terre* à cui j'en ai parlei, m'ont dit que . . .
Joinv., 419.
- Li real s'en fuirent, e li frere chacierent
 Tant que *cil de l'agait* a un cri debuchierent,
Rou., II, 168.
- cil de la vielz lei* soleient vestir si cume funt les noz quant al altel
 deivent venir,
L. Rois, I, XXIII.
- Et trestuit *cil de sa mesniee*
 Furent an cele chevauchiee,
Ch. lyon, 2176-2177.
- cil de sa maihnie* lo porteuent entre lur mains,
Dial Gr., 28, 4.
- Sont tuit *cil de sa rote nu*,
Ruteb., 13, 29.
- Ainsi est partie la riegle
 De *cels d'ordre* et de *cels du siecle*,
Ibid., 74, 19-20.
- Tuit *cil du mestier* doivent lesier huevre,
L. Mest., XXVII, VII.
- cil de la Haulequa* estoient logié entour les heberges,
Joinv., 283.
- Ceulx de la part du Roy* conduisoit Poncet de Riviere . . . *ceulx du*
costé des Bourguignons estoient sans ordre,
Com., 23.

This construction was a favorite one with Old French writers.¹²⁵
 The two expressions *l'autrui*, "the goods of others," and *la*

¹²⁵ Cf. for additional examples:

Rol., 167, 857, 1745, 1852, 2923, 3977.
Rou., I, 124, 158; II, 1356, 2734, 3517, 1542; III, 820.
L. Rois, I, V; I, VI; I, VII; I, XIV; I, XVI; I, XVII.
Ruteb., 25, 66; 30, 105; 36, 5.
L. Mest., XCII, IX.
Joinv., 11, 399, 516, 543, 551, 614, 188, 530.
R. G. S., 78, 167; 92, 330.
Ch. II esp., 1038.
Dial. Gr., 28, 13.
Rose, I, 42.

Similar expressions were in common use in the seventeenth century;
 see Haase, *Syntaxe*, § 25. Cf., p. 72, Remark.

Saint Jehan, "the *fête* of St. John" (and others of similar nature); may be classified here, for, although a person is not designated by either of these two expressions, the determinator, which is in the form of an article in this case, always refers forward.

Male chose estoit de penre de *l'autrui*,¹²⁰

Joinv., 33.

ce fu entour *la saint Jehan*,¹²⁰

Ibid., 438.

3. *With other Prepositional Phrases.*¹²⁷

l'une asist à destre, l'autre à senestre. Cel à destre Jachim apelad e cele à senestre Booz numad,

L. Rois, III, VI.

*A cez paroles est issuz
Cil a cheval,*

Mer., 2271-2272.

*Dame, j'irai
Cele sanz non,*

Ibid., 2796-2797.

*et cil au blanc escu
Joste,*

Ibid., 5407-5408.

*Et les pressoient tant cil à cheval et cil à pié que il desconfirent le roy de Sezile,*¹²⁸

Joinv., 266.

Et otroia à sa mere à fonder l'abbaye dou Liz . . . et celle delez Pontoise,

Ibid., 724.

*Et cils a ce bel soleil d'or
On l'appelle Melyador,*

Froiss. P., I, 30.

¹²⁸ *L'autrui*, as a legal expression, meaning "the goods of others," or "the rights of others," was still in common use at the beginning of the seventeenth century: Qui sans prendre *l'autrui* vivent en bons chrestiens, Regnier, Sat., XII. Le monstre infâme d'envie A qui rien de *l'autrui* ne plaist, Malh., IV, 5. In expressions of *fête* days the present-day usage coincides with that of the Old French.

¹²⁷ Cf. A, I, *supra*, p. 80.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Joinv.*, 259, 266, 273.

4. *With a following Adjective.*¹²⁹

ne doit vendre barilz a Paris d'autre façon que de *cele desus devisée*,
L. Mest., XLVI, VI.

Se d'amer t'estrange & reboute
 Le barat *d'icelles nommées*,
 Tu fais une bien folle doute,

Villon, 44, 573-575.

5. *With a following Adverb.*¹³⁰

Jo ai paiens veuz

Cil devant sunt bien C milie ad escuz

Rol., 1039-1041.

Cil dedenz furent deceu,

Rou, I, 664.

Mult alout *cil detries celui devant* hasant,

Ibid., II, 3527.

E d'une part e d'autre sunt vaillant cheualier.

Cil deça sunt mult pruz e *cil dela* mult fier,

Ibid., II, 3895-3896.

por *ceus dehors* et por *ceus dedenz*,

L. Mest., X, XVII.

B. *Cil* IS USED DETERMINATIVELY IN OLD FRENCH AS AN ADJECTIVE.1. *With a following Relative Clause.*

Ab u[n] magistre semprel mist
 Quillo doist de *ciel* savier
 Don[t] *deu* serviet por bona fied,

Meyer Rec., 195, 22-24.

Puis *icel* tems que *Deus* nos vint salver,

Alex., III.

faites cinc anels de fin or, après la furme de *cele* partie privée de voz
 cors u li *turmenz* e li *langur* ad esté,

L. Rois, I, VI.

L'an après, à *cel* cuntemple que *reis* se solent esmuvier à ost e à
bataille,¹³¹

Ibid., I, XL.

¹²⁹ Cf. A, 1, *supra*, p. 80.

¹³⁰ Cf. A, 1, *supra*, p. 80.

¹³¹ Latin: eo tempore quo solent reges ad bella procedere.

Mais se rien li remaint de quanque à lui apent jusqu'al matin, neis
le chien, *cel* mal vienge sur mei *que venir deit sur lui*,¹³²

Ibid., I, XXV.

Tint cort si riche come rois
A *cele* feste, qui tant coste,
Qu'an doit clamer la *pantecoste*,

Ch. lyon., 4-6.

Et ce mout volantiers savroie,
Don *cele* force puet venir
Qui vos comande a consantir
Tot mon voloir,

Ibid., 2008-2011.

Ier fiz bataille el non dou criator,
Hui la ferai el non à *cel* seignor
Qui envers diu nen ot onques amor,

Am. et Am., 1660-1662.

avec *celui* passage qui ere venuz en Constantinoble,

Villeh., 325.

estorat en *icel* liu ki est diz *Fundiz* une abie,¹³³

Dial. Gr., 9, 7.

si avoit il aconstumeit a seoir sor *cel* iument ki poist estre troueiz en
la *cele* plus despitables de toz les iumentz,¹³⁴

Ibid., 21, 1.

Laurions del saintisme homme Anastaise fut nurriz en *cel* monstier
ki deioste lo borc *Nepesine Subpentonia* est apeleiz,¹³⁵

Ibid., 29, 3.

Ne vaut noient quan que il conte
S'il ne met s'estude en *cel* conte
Qui toz jorz soit bons a retrere,

Mer., 3-5.

Ainz clinent et vont aorant
cele part ou la dame vet,

Ibid., 692-693.

Mes la lance avuec lui portot
Trusqu'a *cele* hore qu'il lessa
Son escu,

Ibid., 1956-1958.

De *cele* part u pent l'espee,

Ch. II esp., 6167.

¹³² For other passages containing the same formula and construction, see *L. Rois*, I, III; I, XIV; I, XX; I, XXV; III, II.

¹³³ Latin: in eo loco qui Fundis dicitur.

¹³⁴ Latin: iumentum sedere consueverat, quod despicabilius omnibus iumentis in cella potuisset reperiri.

¹³⁵ Latin: qui scilicet Maurio in illo monasterio quod iuxta Nepesinam urbem Suppentonia vocatur.

Tu naquis de ta mere nu,
 Dit li croisiez, c'est chose aperte
 Or ies jusqu'a cel tenz venuz
 Que ta chars est bien reconvert,

Ruteb., 37, 73-76.

Et il i doit par reson estre,
 Qu'il lessa son leu et son estre
 Por cele glorieuse jame
 Qui a nom la joie celestre,

Ibid., 86, 19-22.

le Crieur criera a cel feur qu'il li diront,

L. Mest., V, VI.

et encore après les evesques et les archevesques mangoit encoste cele
 table la royne Blanche, sa mere, ou chief dou cloistre, de celle part là
 où li roys ne mangoit pas,

Joinv., 95.

et quant ce vient au matin, si treuvent en lour royz cel avoir de poiz
 que l'on aporte en ceste terre,

Ibid., 189.

Dequoy sert bien a saint Mathieu
 celle javeline qu'il porte,¹³⁶

R. G. S., 106, 483-484.

2. With Self-Evident Determinator Omitted.¹³⁷

A determinative adjective always owes its existence in a sentence to some kind of correlative complement that is present as a thought concept at the time the determinative adjective is spoken or written. If the substantive that is qualified by the determinative adjective and its complement is of a general

¹³⁶ The determining relative clause may be appositional to the substantive determined by the adjective *cil*. I have found this construction only in sentences that contain the locutions *en celle entente que* and *a celle fin que*. Note the following examples: Par quoi il n'en portent aultre pourveance que cescuns emporte, entre le selle et le peniel, une grande plate pierre, et se tourse derriere lui unes besaces plainne de farine *en celle entente que*, quand il ont tant mangiet de char mal cuitte que leur estomach leur semble estre wape et afoiblis, il jetent celle plate pierre ou feu et destrempent un petit de leur farine d'yaue, *Froiss. Ch.*, II, 134. A *celle fin* les te vueil dire *Que* tu me soies secourable, *C. Pis. L. E.*, 2613-2614. A *celle fin que* quand vendra vers moy Je ne soye despourveu, comme nice *C. Orl.*, 148, 1-2. Faignez envers moy mal talant. A *celle fin que* nul n'espie Nostre amour, *Ibid.*, 188, 22-25.

¹³⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 78.

or indefinite nature, the complement of the determinative adjective must come to verbal expression before the speaker can accurately convey his idea to the hearer. An examination of the sentences just cited above to illustrate the use of the determinative adjective will show the truth of this statement. But the substantive that is qualified by a determinative adjective is, however, not always of a general or indefinite nature, but is sometimes the name of a person or thing that is well known to all people of a given epoch and country. In such cases, there is no necessary verbal expression of the complement of the determinative adjective, although this complement always exists, to be sure, as a commonplace in the mind of the speaker or writer, and calls the determinative adjective into existence. If we compare the two following sentences, the point in question will be made more clear:

*Par cel diu ki tout bien consent,*¹³⁸

Ch. II esp., 5745.

Os! fait cil, por le cuer cil sires eut en sen ventre,

Auc., 24, 40.

The words *diu* and *sires*, referring, as they do, to the Deity, create as soon as they are thought of or uttered, a constant mental image, which, if converted into words and fully expressed, would be represented in somewhat the following manner: God, who is, as we all know, the fountain-head of our Christian faith. With such a thought in mind, the speaker quite naturally refers to God as *that* God. He may then add to the words "that God" a relative clause that coincides in varying degree with the more extensive complement that existed in his mind, and which called the determinative adjective into use, as in the first of the two examples cited above, or he may leave unexpressed altogether the complement to whose existence in thought the determinative adjective is due, as in the second example. Observe the following additional examples, in which the name of a person or thing that is well known,—

¹³⁸ Oath formulas of this order abound in Old French texts.

for example, the Deity, the Pope, an historical character, an established religious creed or an order—is determined by the demonstrative adjective *cil*. In some of the examples about to be cited, a relative clause that is either a mere platitude or stereotyped expression, or presents some additional thought, is appended to the substantive. In others, there is no relative clause. In all, the determinative *cil* owes its existence to the presence in the mind of the speaker or writer of an unexpressed complement of a broad general nature.

Il nos aiud ob *ciel senior*
Por cui sustint tels passions,

Meyer Rec., 198, 239-240.

Cil Mahumez ki nus ad en baillie
E Tervaganz.
Salvent le rei,

Rol., 2711-2713.

Gauuains, cil sire qui te fist
Te doinst et honte et encombrer,

Ch. II esp., 4116-4117.

Cil glorieux de qui vient toute grace,

C. Pis. L. E., 7.

Par cel Saint Pierre que Deus a Rome mist,

Rol., 456.

Par cele lei que vos tenez plus salve,

Ibid., 649.

et de tant se osa [Diogène] il vanter qu'il estoit le plus puissant,
 pour ce qu'il pouoit plus de biens reffuser que *celluy roy Alexandre*
 ne luy en eust peu domner,

Chart. C., 15, 6.

The determinative adjective, *celluy*, in this example, owes its existence to some such unexpressed complement as [that King Alexander] *whose wealth was so great*.

toz fut prez li disners,

.
Et chantent et viëlent et rotent cil jongler,

Karls R., 831-837.

The writer of this line and those who felt his language in reading or hearing it supplied mentally [those jongleurs] *who were, of course, present at the banquet*.

Puet cel estre, *cil clero* plusur
prendreient sur els mun labur,

Fa., Epil., 5-6.

[Those clerks] *who, as we all know, busy themselves habitually with literary pursuits.*

Cil riche rez s'entreconfundent,

L. Man., I, 19.

[Those powerful kings] *who are established in authority over us.*

Celes ranposnes a sejour
Li sont el cuer batanz et fresches,

Ch. lyon., 1354-1355.

[Those insulting remarks] *for which, as we all know, Keu is famous.*



CHAPTER VI.

CIST AND *CIL* EQUIVALENT TO DEFINITE ARTICLE.

The use of *cist* and *cil* for the definite article, and therefore with no more demonstrative force than the article possesses, is common throughout the whole Old French period. In the majority of cases where the two words are used in this way, we have simply further examples of a determinative demonstrative adjective with an omitted correlative complement. In other words *cist* or *cil*, equivalent to the definite article, which, it must be remembered, may perform a determinative function as well as a demonstrative adjective, is an extension of its use as an individualizing determinator with the name of a person or thing that is well known.¹³⁹ Notice the italicized words in the two following examples:

Ensi sejournerent en cel palais l'endemain, et al tierz jor lor dona Diex
bon vent; et *cil* marinier resachent lor ancras,

Villeh., 136.

Li iors fu esclarcis et grans
Et la matinee plaisans
Et *cil* oisiel s'esioissoient,

Ch. II esp., 3161-3163.

Here we have a *cil* that is practically equivalent to a definite article. It would be possible, without change of syntax, or offence against good Old French usage, to substitute *li* in each of these cases. *Cil*, standing here before the substantives, *marinier* and *oisiel*, is perhaps somewhat more forceful in meaning than the corresponding article would be, but the difference is slight.¹⁴⁰ But the demonstrative that is used here for a definite

¹³⁹ Compare *supra*, pp. 78-79 and 97-100.

¹⁴⁰ Compare in this connection:

Par *cel* apostre c'on à Romme requiert,

Am. et Am., 508.

Mais par l'apostre c'on quiert en Noiron pré,

Ibid., 751.

article does not differ in kind from the determinative adjective that often stands before the name of an entity that is well known and after which a correlative complement, expressing a commonplace, is omitted. *Cil marinier* means either *the* sailors or *those* sailors *who, of course, manned the ship*. In the same way the force of *cil oisiel* is either *the* birds or *those* birds *that always sing at dawn on fine spring mornings*.

Examples of *cist* and *cil* equivalent to the definite article abound in Old French literature. I limit myself to citing, in addition to those noted above, only a few that are typical. Notice that with few exceptions the substantive which is accompanied by the demonstrative used as an article is the name of something well known, implements of warfare, various common things in nature, etc.

Oliviers est desur un pui muntez
Or veit il bien d'Espaigne le regnét
E Sarrazins ki tant sunt asemblét.
Luisent *cil* elme ki ad or sunt gemmét
E *cil* escut e *cil* osberc safrét
E *cil* espïet, *cil* gunfanun fermét,

Rol., 1028-1033.

En sum *cez* maz et en *cez* haltes vernes
Asez i ad carbuncles e lanternes,

Ibid., 2632-2633.

Loewis e les suens vunt suuent menaçant.
Tel noise a par *cez* rues, n'oïssiez Deu tonant,

Rou., I, 2084-2085.

Sonnent *cil* saint de par toute la ville,

Am. et Am., 1349.

alés selonc éele forest esbanoïier, si verrés *ces* flors et *ces* herbes
s'orrés *ces* oisellons canter,

Auc., 20, 22-24.

car ces colors
Sunt aussi uiues con est flors
En *ces* arbres, en *ces* praiiaus,

Ch. II esp., 12177-12179.

Quant j'oi véues les semblances
De ceus qui menoient les dances,
J'oi lors talent que le vergier
Alasse véoir et cerchier,
Et remirer *ces* biaux moriers,
Ces pins, *ces* codres, *ces* loriers,

Rose, I, 43.

Luisent *cil* elme as pierres d'or gemmes
 Et *cil* escut e *cez* bronies safrees
 Et *cil* espiet, *cez* enseignes fermees,¹⁴¹

Rol., 3307-3309.

S'entr'acoloient et baisoient
 Cil cui li geu d'amors plaisoient;
Cil arbre vert par *ces* gaudines,
 Lor paveillons et lor cortines,
 De lor rains sor eus estendoient,¹⁴¹

Rose, I, 280.

Qu[i] lors vëist *cel* baisëis,
 La joie et *cel* acolëis,¹⁴²

Ille, 4983-4984.

Il est raison que *li* amant
 Doignent du lor plus largement
 Que *cil* vilains entule et sot,¹⁴²

Rose, I, 74.

Quiconques a enpetré le congié de mesurer, il convient qu'il jure seur
 Sains, avant que il puisse mesurer, que il le mesurage fera bien
 et loiaument a son pooir, de quelque maniere de grain que il
 mesureche, et que il la droiture a *celui* vendeur et a *l'achateur* gardera
 bien et loiaument,¹⁴²

L. Mest., IV, 11.

E *cil* Asael fud si délivres del pied e si ignels cume uns cheverols de
cele forest,

Rois, II, IV.

Cil siecles n'est pas siecles, ainz est chanz de bataille,

Ruteb, 46, 29.

¹⁴¹ This example, which contains *cil* and *cist* equivalent to the article, in precisely the same construction and with precisely the same meaning, shows that the two demonstratives were used indiscriminately in this sense.

¹⁴² The author uses in this example, now *cil*, now *li*, with no apparent distinction, thus proving, if other examples did not offer conclusive evidence on this point, that the demonstrative might perform the function of the definite article in Old French. In the citation from the *Rose*, and the *L. Mest.*, *cil* is equivalent to the generic article, *li amant* and *cil vilains*, in the one case and *celui vendeur* and *l'achateur*, in the other, being syntactically parallel.

CHAPTER VII.

CIL PRONOUN . . . *CIST* ADJECTIVE.

In Latin *ille* and *iste* were used both as demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. This usage was continued into the Old French. We know, however, that at some stage in the course of the development of the French, *cil*, the descendant of *ille*, lost its adjectival function and became restricted to use as a pronoun, while *cist*, the descendant of *iste*, lost its pronominal function and became restricted to use as an adjective. It is interesting to know when this took place. The following table of statistics, compiled in all but two cases ¹⁴³ from the entire text, shows the mathematical proportion of *cil* pronoun to *cil* adjective and of *cist* pronoun to *cist* adjective for the period of time that is covered in this monograph.

| | <i>Cil</i> Pronoun. | <i>Cil</i> Adjective. | <i>Cist</i> Pronoun. | <i>Cist</i> Adjective. |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Alex. | 15 | 24 | 2 | 21 |
| Karls R. | 13 | 29 | 0 | 14 |
| Rol. ¹⁴⁴ | 136 | 54 | 7 | 158 |
| Am. et Am. | 39 | 66 | 4 | 60 |
| Ch. lyon | 178 | 43 | 12 | 111 |
| Rou | 181 | 48 | 11 | 41 |
| Fa. | 87 | 31 | 1 | 62 |
| Auc. | 25 | 12 | 0 | 28 |
| Villeh. | 351 | 182 | 7 | 85 |
| Mer. | 217 | 76 | 36 | 134 |
| Ch. II esp. | 503 | 125 | 7 | 151 |
| Rose | 184 | 61 | 37 | 197 |
| Joinv. | 161 | 87 | 1 | 290 |
| Froiss. P. | 141 | 67 | 1 | 123 |
| C. Pis. L. E. | 146 | 97 | 11 | 158 |
| C. Orl. | 81 | 7 | 0 | 282 |
| Villon | 24 | 0 | 2 | 131 |
| Ch. XVS. | 50 | 0 | 1 | 86 |
| R. G. S. | 29 | 1 | 4 | 87 |
| Com. | 182 | 2 | 4 | 506 |

¹⁴³ *Roman de la Rose*, Vol. I, only.

Oeuvres de Froissart, Vol. I of the *Poésies* only.

¹⁴⁴ The italicized forms of the demonstratives in Stengel's edition are not included in these statistics.

The table shows that there was a tendency to use *cist* more frequently as an adjective than as a pronoun even from the time of the *Alexis*, and to use *cil* more frequently as a pronoun than as an adjective from the end of the twelfth century. This tendency was accentuated throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and when at length we come to the fifteenth, *cil* adjective is rare and *cist* pronoun is used only occasionally. At the end of the fifteenth century, therefore, the separation of the two demonstratives into two distinct classes, that perform pronominal and adjectival functions respectively, is practically accomplished.

What are the reasons for this separation and restriction? Why should *cil* have developed into a word that is used exclusively as a pronoun, while *cist* became restricted to adjectival functions? At least a partial answer to this question has already been found in the chapters on the demonstrative and determinative uses of *cil* and *cist*. *Cil* was from the time of the earliest Old French by far the more commonly used pronoun. In addition to an extensive strictly pronominal use, it was employed to perform other functions that in later times have been discharged by other parts of speech, whereas the use of *cist* pronoun for other parts of speech was restricted. Furthermore, *cil* was the determinative pronoun *par excellence* during the whole Old French period. It is more difficult to discover reasons why *cist* was at any early date employed more frequently as an adjective than *cil*.¹⁴⁵

Whatever the causes of restriction of *cil* and *cist* to pronominal and adjectival functions respectively may have been, the fact is that by the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century there was an established tradition in the language that *cil* was the pronoun and *cist* the adjective. At this time a new order of things was gradually being effected;

¹⁴⁵ I intend to study further this question of *cil* pronoun . . . *cist* adjective, and hope that a more detailed analysis of this phase of my subject than I have been able to give it in the present monograph may enable me to publish, at a date not too distant, more satisfactory results.

the Old French *cil* and *cist* were losing their inherent demonstrative force, and new demonstratives were being created. This condition hastened the process of separation. The completed result, for which we should have to go beyond the time limits of this monograph, is that *celui*, *celle*, *ceux*, *celles*, the only forms that are left of Old French *cil*, are employed only as pronouns, while *ce(t)*, *cette*, and *ces*, the only remaining forms of Old French *cist*, are restricted to adjectival functions.

CHAPTER VIII.

CIST, CIL . . . ICIST, ICIL.

All of the demonstratives, the neuter *ce* < *ecce* + *hoc* included, possessed in Old French forms that preserved an initial *i*, developed from the first syllable of the *ecce*, so that we find *icist*, *icil*, and *ice* not infrequently used instead of the much more common *cist*, *cil*, and *ce*. In regard to the *i*-forms, two questions might well be raised. First, how extensive was the use of the *i*-forms in Old French? In the second place, was there any difference in meaning or syntax between *cist*, *cil*, and *ce* and *icist*, *icil*, and *ice*?

1. EXTENT OF USE OF *I*-FORMS.

It is impossible to make a statement of any degree of precision about the relative frequency of the occurrence of the simple and the *i*-forms, since an examination of the texts shows that the Old French writers allowed themselves a great deal of individual liberty in the choice of longer or shorter forms. In some texts, such as the *Roland*, *Ille et Galeron*, the *Conquête de Constantinople*, and the first part of the *Rose*, the longer forms are frequent; in others they are hardly used at all. And, again, one author will be found using with predilection certain *i*-forms, while another, living and writing at the same time, will make use of an altogether different set. However, there are some characteristics, common to all writers of the same period, that admit of classification. In texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the first third of the thirteenth, *cist*, *cil* and *ce* (the first two both as pronouns and adjectives) are used, as a rule, from ten to fifty times as frequently as forms of *icist*, *icil*, and *ice*, and there is very slight

if any, change noticeable in this proportion throughout that period. When we come to the middle of the thirteenth century, there is a change, as is proved by data from the *Roman de la Rose* and the poems of Rutebeuf. Guillaume de Lorris, writing the first 4669 lines of the *Rose* about 1237, employs in them nineteen *i*-forms derived from *ecce* + *iste* and *ecce* + *ille*, and one hundred and fifty-six simple forms derived from the same etyma. *Ice* occurs in the same number of lines four times, while the simple *ce* is used more than fifty times. In the second part of the same work, consisting of 18,000 lines and written about 1277, Jean de Meung uses countless simple forms. On the other hand, *icist* does not occur, *icil* only six times, and *ice* three. Rutebeuf wrote his poems during the forty years that intervened between the composition of the two parts of the *Rose*, and in his use of the demonstrative *i*-forms we find a stage of transition between the usage of Guillaume de Lorris and that of Jean de Meung. Rutebeuf uses *icil* both as pronoun and as adjective, as do both authors of the *Rose*, but *icist* occurs only as an adjective, and as such only four times. Forms of *icil* and *ice* are employed twelve times among hundreds of simple forms. From these statistics it is seen that the *i*-forms began to fall into disuse in the thirteenth century. By the middle of this century, *icist* was no longer used as a pronoun, and by the year 1300 it was no longer in use even as an adjective. Further, there was a gradual decrease in the use of *icil* and *ice* during the last two-thirds of the thirteenth century.

The process of gradual elimination of the longer forms which, we have seen, took place in the thirteenth century continued throughout the two following centuries. I have found no examples of *icist* in those of my texts that were composed between 1300 and 1500. Forms of *icil* occur sporadically. Joinville, in the first seven hundred paragraphs of the *Histoire de Saint Louis*, uses the following forms, each once: *icil*, *icelui*, and *icelle*.¹⁴⁶ Only *cil*, *cist*, and *ce* are found in Froissart.

¹⁴⁶ *Joinv.*, 247, 477, 128,

Christine de Pisan uses very rarely the *i*-forms.¹⁴⁷ No *i*-forms occur in Charles d'Orléans, or in the collection of *Chansons du XV Siècle*, or in the *Recueil Général des Sotties*. Villon uses *iceluy* twice, *icelles* four times, and *ice* once¹⁴⁸

2. DIFFERENTIATION OF *I*-FORMS AND SIMPLE FORMS.

Having discussed the extent of the use of the *i*-forms, let us take up the second question; namely, the consideration of the meaning and the syntax of *icist*, *icil*, and *ice*. A comparison of the longer and shorter forms in examples from a wide range of texts shows that there is no difference in meaning; *icist* and *icil* have the same inherent forces that have been noted in treating the simple *cist* and *cil*. There are, however, certain peculiarities of position that repeat themselves so often, when the *i*-forms are used, that conclusions in regard to several rules which must have been quite universally felt, if not always observed, are forced upon us.

a. In Poetry—*I*-Forms at Beginning of Line and after or before Caesura.

In the first place, it is seen that in Old French poetry about seventy-five per cent. of all the *i*-forms that are used stand either at the immediate beginning of the verse or as near to it as a preposition,¹⁴⁹ or a conjunction,¹⁵⁰ or a preposition and a conjunction, standing at the beginning of the line, will allow.

Forment l'enquiert a toz ses menestrels:

Icil respondent que neuls d'els nel set,

Alex., LXV.

Cil vait, sil quiert, mais il nel set choisir,

Icel saint ome de cui l'imagene dist,

Ibid., XXXV.

¹⁴⁷ *C. Pis. L. E.*, 1933, *yceulx*.

¹⁴⁸ Villon, 45, 607; 97, 1669; 44, 574; 44, 581; 65, 1067; 96, 1752; 65, 1061.

¹⁴⁹ Such as *à*, *après*, *de*, *dès*, *en*, *par*, *por*, *puis*.

¹⁵⁰ Such as *car*, *et*, *mais*, *que*, *si*.

Alquant le prenent fortment a blastengier:
"Iceste chose nos deusses noncier,"

Ibid., LXIV.

Devers sei l'at tornet, si la baisat treis feiz.
Icele fut bien cointe, et il dist que corteis,

Karls R., 715-716.

Uns dus i est, si ad nun Falsaron,
Icil ert frere al rei Marsiliun,

Rol., 1213-1214.

Icele noit n'unt unkes escalguaite,

Ibid., 2495.

Iceæ eschieles bien les vunt ajustant,

Ibid., 3024.

Icist ferunt nos Franceis grant irur,

Ibid., 1023.

Iço vus mandet reis Marsilius li ber,

Ibid., 125.

Icestes qui ce faire suelent
Heent si tost com eles voelent,

Ille, 1295-1296.

Icelui retient a son oés,

Ibid., 2401.

Icelle gens s'est el monstier entrée,

Am. et Am., 2156.

Icist malades m'ocirra, si lui loist,

Ibid., 2358.

Ice service me fist, foi que doi voz,

Ibid., 1214.

Ice voz voil je dire,

Ibid., 250.

Icil quatre la dame amoënt,

M. Fce., 173, 41.

Ices deus ars tint Dous-Regars,

Rose, I, 30.

Icestui bien voil que tu aies,

Ibid., 87.

Richece ot une porpre robe,
Ice ne tenés mie à lobe,

Ibid., 35.

Icil por son cors sostenir,

.

Porta aucune garison,

Ruteb., 238, 719-721.

Icist dui firent deus biaux cous,

Ibid., 37, 88.

Mais si ne dis proprement où
Ycelles passent tous les iours,

Villon, 65, 1066-1069.

Ice m'ont deux dames apris,

Ibid., 65, 1061.

The examples just cited are representative.¹⁵¹

Frequent is the appearance of an *i*-form after a preposition that stands at the beginning of a verse. Less often it is a conjunction, or occasionally a conjunction + a preposition, that precedes the *i*-form.

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| <i>A icel</i> mot l'emperere est muntez, | <i>Rol.</i> , 2457. |
| <i>A icest</i> colp est li esturs vencuz, | <i>Ibid.</i> , 3930. |
| <i>A icel</i> jor que congié prist, | <i>Ille</i> , 5430. |
| <i>Après iceste</i> altre avisun sunjat, | <i>Rol.</i> , 725. |
| <i>Après icelle</i> li vient altre avisun | <i>Ibid.</i> , 2555. |
| <i>Après icels</i> en ad bien altretanz, | <i>Ibid.</i> , 3198. |
| <i>Après ice</i> n'i voi je plus, | <i>Mer.</i> , 976. |
| Damz Alexis en lodet Deu del ciel <i>D'icez</i> ¹⁵² sons sers cui il est almosniers, | <i>Alex.</i> , XXV. |
| <i>D'iceste</i> onour nem revueil encombrer, | <i>Ibid.</i> , XXXVIII. |
| <i>D'icele</i> geme qued iluec ont trovede, | <i>Ibid.</i> , LXXVI. |

¹⁵¹ For other examples that contain *i*-forms standing at the immediate beginning of the verse, compare:

- Rol.*, 430, 460, 880, 1707, 1823, 1892, 1905, 1920, 1959, 2282, 2498, 2938, 3054, 3057, 3796.
Ille, 124, 481, 688, 817, 902, 1120, 1457, 1890, 1895, 2177, 2289, 2414, 2609, 2839, 3009, 3440, 3757, 3825, 3875, 4020, 4050, 4060, 4230, 4252, 4385, 4474, 3773, 4898, 4904, 5087, 5223, 5251, 5258, 5625, 6255, 6380.
Am. et Am., 64, 231, 2089, 2109, 3283.
Ch. lyon, 1038, 2872, 5274, 6292.
Rou, I, 464; *II*, 1065, 1353, 2694.
M. Fce., 52, 295; 61, 181; 80, 152; 94, 203; 136, 333; 137, 349; 179, 233; 192, 201; 196, 300.
Mer., 240, 980, 1152.
Rose, I, 9, 30, 32, 34, 54, 72, 86, 252.
Ruteb., 7, 127; 97, 44; 114, 26; 148, 189; 160, 720; 213, 294.

¹⁵² In all of the examples I have found, both in poetry and in prose, of an *i*-form preceded by *de*, the *e* of the preposition is elided before the following *i*.

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| <i>D'icelles</i> si n'est qui ne queure, | <i>Villon</i> , 44, 581. |
| <i>Dès icele</i> ore qu'il nasquirent, | <i>Rose</i> , 11, 289. |
| <i>En icest</i> siecle nen at parfaite amour, | <i>Alex.</i> , XIV. |
| <i>En iceste</i> maniere, | <i>Am. et Am.</i> , 2787. |
| <i>En iceli</i> tens deliteus, | <i>Rose</i> , I, 4. |
| <i>Par icel</i> Diu qui tout crea, | <i>Ille</i> , 3200. |
| <i>Par iceli</i> Dieu qui ne ment, | <i>Rosc.</i> , I, 283. |
| <i>Puis icel</i> tems que Deus nos vint salver, | <i>Alex.</i> , III. |
| <i>Selonc ice</i> qu'il t'ert conté, | <i>Ille</i> , 4179. |

These examples also are representative of many others of the same nature that might be cited.¹⁵³

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>Car icel</i> gent si font lor vis Ameग्रir, | <i>Rose</i> , I, 15. |
| <i>Et icil</i> li at dit: "Or chevalchiez avant," | <i>Karls R.</i> , 280. |
| <i>Et icelles</i> qui s'enclinoient, | <i>Villon</i> , 96, 1752. |
| <i>Mais icil</i> qui vient devers destre L'ataint | <i>Ille</i> , 1657. |
| Por moi qui ai non Rustebuef, | |
| <i>Que iceste</i> Dame saintisme Prit celui cui ele est amie Que il Rustebuef n'oblit mie, | <i>Ruteb.</i> , 251, 1291-1296. |

¹⁵³ Compare:

Alex., LXII, LXVI, CVI, CVII, CXXV.

Alex., LXII, LXVI, CVI, CVII, CXXV.

Rol., 664, 990, 1180, 1480, 1677, 1884, 1911, 1939, 1988, 1998, 2008,
2054, 3021, 3365, 3379, 3530, 3621.

Ille, 1431, 4343, 4745, 6200.

Am. et Am., 45, 208, 768, 1531, 3266.

Rose, I, 324; 2, 378.

S'iceste acorde ne volez otrier,

Rol., 475.

E d'icel bien qui toz deust tons estre,

Alex., LXXXIV.

Et por ice que je m'en duel,

Ille, 5260.

Et por ice meismement,

Rose, II, 106.

The second fact that presents itself to our attention with reference to *i*-forms in the line is that they often stand either after or before a caesura of the verse. After the caesura, a preposition, a conjunction, or both, may precede the *i*-form, just as at the beginning of the verse. In twelve syllable verses there is regularly a principal caesura after the sixth foot, dividing the line into two equal hemitichs. If the line contains ten syllables, the principal caesura is more often after the fourth foot, as generally in the *Roland*. As for eight syllable lines, it is difficult to claim a real caesura, but in all the examples containing eight syllables that are cited below there seems to be at least a slight caesura of sense standing now after the fourth foot, now after the third or the fifth.

N'estuet somondre *icels* qui l'ont odit,

Alex., CII.

Com il vit la chaire, *icele* part s'aprochet,

Karls R., 119.

"Ci at merveillous gap," *ico* at dit l'escolte,

Ibid., 576.

Ço dist Turpins: "*Icist* nos ert forsfaiz,"

Rol., 1393.

Poi s'en estoerstrent *d'icels* ki sunt iloe,

Ibid., 3632.

XXX en i ad *d'icels* ki sunt pendut,

Ibid., 3958.

Mout lor font mal *icil* de Rome,

Ille, 6064.

Ja s'ocesist en *icele* eure,

Ibid., 6386.

Avons nos hui *iceste* perte,

Ibid., 4930.

Amis ausiz, *icil* ne puet finer

D'euls conjoir et dou fort honorer,

Am. et Am., 3225.

Ne me tenez a surquidiee,
se vos os faire *icest* present,

M. Fce., 4, 54-55.

Il nen a joie en *icest* mund,

Ibid., 149, 84.

Se vos n'estes a *icel* jor,

Ch. lyon, 2577.

Pasmez s'est, *mes d'icelui* lieu
Ne se meüst,

Mer., 5000.

Icis venirs, *icis* alers
Icis veilliers, *icis* parlers,
Font as amans sous lor drapiaus
Durement ameigrir lor piaus,

Rose, 1, 83.

Encor me dist *icil* preudon,

Ruteb., 146, 103.

Et si donoit en tel maniere
Que meix valoit la bele chiere
Qu'il fesoit an doner le don
Que li dons. *Icist* bons preudon
Preudome crut,

Ibid., 76, 79-83.

Or savoient *icez* noveles
Trois, sanz plus, de ses damoiseles,

Ibid., 263, 563-564.

Puis reconvient *iceus* morir,

Rose, II, 168.

Se d'amer t'estrange & reboute
Le barat *d'icelles* nommées,

Villon, 44, 573-574.

Si out *d'icels* ki les chies unt perduz,

Rol., 2094.

Et tout *icou* ra en celui
Et ce fait ele entendre a lui,

Ille, 906-907.

Que miauz vaut *icil*, qui conquist
Vostre seignor,

Ch. lyon, 1705.

E tuz *icels* escumenjout,

M. Fce., 14, 242.

Qu'est-*ice*, où estoie-gié?

Rose, I, 81.

These examples, in which an *i*-form of the demonstrative

occurs either after or before a caesura of the line, under conditions mentioned above, might be multiplied.¹⁵⁴

In the two following cases, and in these only, I have found *i*-forms standing at the end of the verse:

Rome en laissai et *iceli*
Por cui pitiés m'a recoelli,

Ille, 4869-4870.

Mes la fiance prent d'*icels*,

M. Fce., 205, 905.

b. *In Prose—I-Forms at Beginning of Sentence or Word-group.*

So far in the treatment of the *i*-forms, citations have been made, and conclusions drawn, almost exclusively from Old French poetry. It will be of interest to see whether prose monuments offer any data that can furnish additional information on this subject. In the *L. Rois*, the *i*-forms occur about as frequently as they do in the poetry of the last half of the twelfth century. In the first two books, they are used thirty-one times. In all but three of these thirty-one cases, the *i*-forms stand either immediately at the beginning of a sentence or word-group before which there is a natural pause, sometimes slight, in the pronunciation, or after a preposition or a conjunction that begins the sentence or word-group.

Icist fiz Deu ad eud dous muillers,

L. Rois, I, I.

Iço oïrent ces d'Israel,

Ibid., II, III

¹⁵⁴ In addition to these examples cited above, see:

Alex., LXI.

Rol., 1082, 2423, 3339, 3343, 3540, 3653, 3829, 3977.

Ille, 1513, 2418, 2653, 3616, 3902, 4127, 4174, 4600, 4796, 5257, 5550, 5779, 6447.

Ch. lyon, 1258.

M. Fce., 119, 163; 189, 91.

Mer., 5227, 5404.

Rose, 1, 7, 30, 58.

Ruteb., 125, 113; 149, 217; 168, 199; 222, 656; 253, 77.

E si tu le me ceiles, *icel* mal vienge sur tei que Deu ad parlé de mei,
Ibid., I, III.

Bien ai oï *igo* que li poples te ad dit,
Ibid., I, VIII.

Tis pères ad défendu que nuls ne majuce . . . e ad maldit forment
iceli ki mangerad,

Ibid., I, XIV.

Atant s'en turnerent *ices* de Ciph devant Saül,
Ibid., I, XXIII.

Cum igo oïd Saül forment se curuçad,
Ibid., I, XI.

D'*igo* k'il i truverent ço que lur plout pristrent e enportèrent,
Ibid., I, XVII.

le usage de cest païs *a icest* cuntemple,¹⁵⁵
Ibid., I, XII.

The three cases in the first two books of the *L. Rois* in which an *i*-form seems to stand in an unusual position are the following:

E Fenenna *igo* li turna a repruce,
Rois, I, I.

E de lui receut *icest* respuns,
Ibid., I, VIII.

Li reis Saül *igo* requist,
Ibid., I, XXIV.

In the prose sections of *Aucassin and Nicolette*, an *i*-form is used only once:

. . . et de mesaises. *Ícil* vont en paradis,
Auc., 6, 32.

Villehardouin uses *icil* and *icist* only in the positions already indicated. The following are representative examples:

Icestui convenant volons-nos que vos asseurez alsì,
Villeh., XXXIX, 188.

. . . Toldres li Asceres. *Ícil* si tenoit la guerre contre les Franz,
Ibid., LXIX, 313.

Endementiers que il ala parler as contes et as barons, *icele* partie
dout vos avez oï arrieres, . . . , parlerent as messages,
Ibid., XVII, 81.

¹⁵⁵ For additional examples of *i*-forms in the *L. Rois*, see I—I, II, VI, IX, X, XI, XIII, XV, XX, X, XIII, XXV, XXVIII; II—III, XI, II, XVI, XXIV.

Des saintuaires ne covient mie à parler; que autant en avoit-il à *ice*
 jor en la vile cum el remanant dou monde,

Ibid., XL, 192.

En icel termine,

Ibid., LXVIII, 309.

A icel tens,

Ibid., LXXIV, 333.

Joinville, as already stated, employs the *i*-forms very rarely. I cite the following cases which are the only ones I have found in the *Histoire de Saint Louis*:

et l'endemain nous nous trouvames devant *icelle* meisme montaigne,
Joinv., 128.

car l'on me dist, *icil* qui bien savoient son couvine, que . . . ,
Ibid., 247.

Et li enfes en leva une, *d'icelui* saige home qui ainsi les avoit enseigniez,

Ibid., 477.

The examples of *icist*, *icil*, and *ice* that I have cited on the last few pages, from monuments in verse and prose alike, prove incontestably that these forms were, as a rule, employed in only those positions that have been noted. The truth of the fact that their use was confined to those positions is confirmed by the uniformity of treatment that is seen to exist in all authors. There are exceptions, it is true, but their number is so small that they can be regarded only as exceptions. There is virtually the same usage in prose and in poetry. To say that an *i*-form stands at the beginning of a sentence or word-group is practically equivalent to saying that it stands at the beginning of a verse or after a caesura.

It is not to be inferred from what has been said in regard to the positions of the *i*-forms in the sentence or verse, that only *i*-forms are used in these places. The much more common shorter forms, *cist*, *cil*, and *ce*, may, and do, stand in any position in the line or sentence and in all constructions.

LIFE.

I was born in Waldoboro, Maine, January 6, 1880; was prepared for college at the High School, Framingham, Massachusetts; entered Amherst College in 1897, and graduated in 1901 with the degree of A. B. The summer of 1901 I spent in Paris. In October of the same year, I entered the Johns Hopkins University, to devote my attention to the study of French as a principal subject, of Italian and Spanish as subordinate subjects. After two years work in Baltimore, I went abroad in May, 1903, and remained until September, 1904. During this time I worked on my dissertation at the Bibliothèque Nationale and attended lectures on French Philology at the Sorbonne in Paris. I then returned to Baltimore and did further work at the Johns Hopkins during the academic year 1904-1905, holding for that period the Fellowship of the Romance Department.

While at the Johns Hopkins I followed lectures by Professors Elliott, Armstrong, Marden, Ogden, Warren, and Drs. Brush, Shaw, and Keidel, all of whom I thank for the great assistance they afforded me in guiding my university work. To Professor Elliott and Mr. Armstrong I am particularly indebted; to the former for what he so generously and courteously gave me from his abundant fund of high-minded manliness, of broad knowledge of Romance subjects, and of inspiring enthusiasm; to the latter for the living example of an accurate, judicious scholarship. Without that example, together with helpful suggestions and an untiring encouragement on the part of Mr. Armstrong, the present work would never have been undertaken, could never have been completed.

CHARLES E. MATHEWS.

PC
2859
.M4

Mathews, C.E. - C

Dec. 22/82 144 Queen's

Mathews, C.E. - Cist and Cil.

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE
OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK
TORONTO 5, CANADA

25036.

